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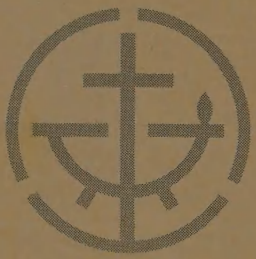
THE PREACHER AND POLITICS

W. WOFFORD T. DUNCAN



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THE PREACHER AND POLITICS

A STUDY IN MINISTERIAL RELATION TO PUBLIC LIFE

BY
W. WOFFORD T. DUNCAN

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DEDICATION

TO MY SON WAYLAND PIERCE DUNCAN AND MY DAUGHTER MILDRED BISHOP DUNCAN, WHOSE INTEREST IN THE THEME HEREIN DISCUSSED IS A SOURCE OF GRATIFICATION, THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

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FOREWORD

THE author of this book is a preacher who believes profoundly in an evangelistic ministry of pastoral and pulpit power. He has never been in any sense a professional reformer. He has never assumed the functions of a volunteer law-enforcement officer or private detective. He has not promoted partisan caucuses nor championed a particular political party as such. His sole ambition has been to excel in pulpit and pastoral ministration, thereby effecting a sane and aggressive leadership of a strong church. In seeking to realize this ideal he has been moved to use voice and pen in both criticism and commendation of American public life, believing profoundly that the Christianization of politics, journalism, education, and all forms of commercial and industrial activity is contemplated in Christ's plan of the kingdom of God on earth.

There is no purpose in these pages to bring

a railing accusation against ministers who have not followed the course described. If their thought can be stimulated to more extensive discussion of this subject, the author is well content. He does, however, hope that the younger men may be led to recognize public life as a field, largely uncultivated, in which a preacher may sanely function to the glory of God. If these pages, born out of the experience gained by the happy years devoted exclusively to the pastorate, shall prove of any worth to those who are at the threshold of the greatest calling in the world, then the writer will be highly gratified.

W. W. T. D.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL ASPECTS

THAT there is a genuine hesitancy on the part of preachers to discuss political questions in the Christian pulpit will be generally admitted. That this hesitancy is not usually due either to ignorance of the moral values involved nor to cowardice in the presence of lay opposition can easily be substantiated. That much of this hesitancy is due to a conviction that there is an essential impropriety in political preaching is doubtless true. This conviction has an historical background. We are frequently told of the evils that befell the Christian Church because the pulpiteers of the past gave themselves to political preaching. Just when and how this was done and what was the resultant detriment to the church is not often stated, and when stated is frequently beset with error of fact and interpretation.

Just when, let us ask, did the church lose

her power because her preachers in the spirit of the ancient prophets discussed political issues from the pulpit? That there has been such discussion from the beginning of Christianity until the present is patent to all. On the day of Pentecost Peter charged the rulers with wrongdoing and accused them of the murder of the Messiah. Paul encountered the political authorities of his day at almost every step, and did not for a moment hesitate to express his conviction as to their moral responsibility. The church Fathers of the early Christian centuries did likewise. It is Chrysostom attacking the personal and official conduct of the Empress Eudocia. It is Ambrose in conflict with the Empress Faustina during the Arian controversy. It is Augustine insisting upon a religious interpretation of governmental authority. So down through the later periods of history the outstanding preachers have related themselves to the governments under which they lived.

As we turn the pages of church history we are evermore reading the record of national

life. It is hardly possible to name an outstanding prophetic preacher of the past who has not dealt with public life. John Wiclif, whose name is associated largely with the translation of the Bible, began his career as a patriotic reformer. His bitter opponents did not rifle his tomb and burn his bones forty-four years after his death simply because he was a biblical translator, but because as a patriotic personality in public life he had thwarted the designs on the state of corrupt politicians in the guise of theologians.

John Hus achieved his highest success and suffered his greatest persecution as a moral reformer rather than as a doctrinal preacher. It was the sin of the day that he smote with fearless persistence rather than the religious heresies of the time. His pulpit was his throne, but it would not have been if he had ignored public life. If he had surrendered to the clamor of those who desired him to desist from condemnation of public wrong, he could have escaped the martyr's crown; but he was too brave for that. Bohemian royalty was involved. Surrounding nations

were implicated and Hus became "the morning star of the reformation" and lighted by his flames of martyrdom the surrounding darkness because he had the courage to relate his preaching to public life.

The careers of Savonarola, Luther, John Calvin, and John Knox are familiar illustrations of the same truth. None will accuse John Wesley of forsaking a spiritual ministry to become a political preacher, yet Wesley, descended as he was from a long line of fighting preachers, could not fail to relate himself to public life. The American colonies, the liquor trade, and general philanthropic movements were treated fearlessly by voice and pen. Historian John Richard Green credits him with having saved England from horrors like those of the French Revolution, and it has been shown that the Methodist class meeting raised up leaders among the common people, thus supplanting the vicious political corruptionists who formerly controlled the underprivileged masses. Henry Ward Beecher, Hugh Price Hughes, Joseph Parker are names which

suggest hundreds of pulpit leaders who applied the gospel to public life. Indeed, every outstanding preacher has to decide, not whether he will deal with public life or not, but whether his relation to it shall be one of equivocation and safe subservience or one of prophetic protest against public wrong at points which may involve peril to his peace and popularity. The extent to which the church has prophetically related itself to public affairs has been the measure of advance in government.

When we think of America we cannot dissociate the influence of the Christian Church from the growth of the state. The church is the very mother of our government. America herself was discovered by a churchman in pursuit of his missionary career. Christopher Columbus, it is true, was not a model Christian, and yet he was fired with a passion to carry the gospel to the ruler of China and accidentally discovered America on his way. Further back the Christian Church may be said to have promoted the discovery of America by keeping Columbus from an

abandonment of his project. It was a Christian monk, Juan Perez de Marchena, according to Washington Irving, who found Columbus in a state of discouragement, tested his theories by conference with scientific men, and, by an appeal to Queen Isabella, secured a rehearing of his case after the court of Spain had indefinitely postponed consideration of his proposition.

Certainly, if nothing more had happened in America than its discovery and Spanish colonization, the United States would not have been what it is. To the Pilgrim Fathers we are indebted for the best ideals and institutions of early American life. Who were the Pilgrim Fathers? None other than a small Christian congregation made up of sturdy souls who for years had been listening to their pastor, John Robinson, in Holland, expound the governmental ideals of biblical religion. They took him seriously, as Silvester Horne suggests, and sailed across the sea to test his preaching. It is well in these days when it is the style to sneer at the Pilgrims to remember that the best in American

institutions has its root in their sowing. "Let it never be forgotten that modern America sprang out of the ideal relation between a pastor and a church; a man of God and a people of God. . . . How the Pilgrim church created the Pilgrim state; how it drew up, as Mr. Bancroft says, 'the first instrument conferring equal civil and religious rights on every member of the commonwealth,' how it sought to do the will of God on earth is matter of history."[1] The thirteen colonies were cradled in the Christian religion. The colony of New Haven was founded under the leadership of the Rev. John Davenport. Rhode Island's founder was the Rev. Roger Williams, a Baptist minister whose convictions of religious tolerance anticipated and outran those of Lord Baltimore, for Williams tolerated unbelievers while Baltimore only gave liberty of conscience to those who had some form of Christian belief. New Hampshire's prosperous

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[1] *The Romance of Preaching,* by Charles Silvester Horne, pp. 218, 223. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. Reprinted by permission.

town, Exeter, was founded by the Rev. John Wheelwright, who was also a champion of religious liberty. South Carolina was settled by the Huguenots, the best church people of France, whose going so greatly impoverished France, and enriched England and America. Oglethorpe, an intimate friend of John and Charles Wesley, gave us Georgia. Maryland came through the good offices of the devout Roman Catholics under Lord Baltimore.

The Western States were influenced mightily by the preaching and personnel of church home missionaries, and several States carved out of the original "Oregon" were saved to the United States and supplied with early settlers through the heroic and patriotic labors of Marcus Whitman, a home missionary of the Congregational Church. Surely no one making any approach to historical accuracy can deny the right of the church to regard the state as in some real sense her offspring. Repudiation of the union of church and state cannot reasonably carry with it a denial of the right of the church to

intense concern with state affairs. Can a mother forget her child, that she have not compassion on her son?

Now, it is true that there have arisen at times misconceptions of the relation of church and state. Augustine, for example, maintained that there should be but one form of government for every state, and presumed to dictate that form. The government of the state and that of the church, in his judgment, should coalesce. He was thus a champion of the union of church and state and of the exercise by the church of temporal power. This doctrine, of course, we as Protestants repudiate, and the Constitution of the United States makes of it a national repudiation. The defect in Augustine's particular theory, however, is no reason for rejecting the principle behind it, namely, that the church has a right to discuss moral aspects of governmental operation and to arouse public sentiment favorable to its conception of civic righteousness. To reject this principle and to silence the Christian pulpit because false theories have sometimes been preached is as unwar-

ranted as would be the neglect of civic duty because false theories of government have often been championed by leading citizens.

The history of priest rule and of ecclesiastical interference with matters purely political is one of which we surely are not proud. The hesitancy of the Roman Catholic Church to break wholly with the doctrine of the organic unity of church and state is not creditable to that great body. American Protestantism has utterly and completely broken with that theory. Even in England the nonconformist bodies are potent enough to counteract the influence of those who still hold to the idea of a state church. Pre-eminently, therefore, in America the government has not the slightest reason to fear any Protestant encroachment on its peculiar prerogatives. Indeed, Protestantism seems to be between two fires at this point. Some of her severest critics contend that she has stood too largely aloof from moral participation in the affairs of state, leaving to the secularists the task which God had committed to her hand. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman,

in his able and informing work, *Christianity and the State,* points this out very clearly, maintaining that the mediæval church, with all her faults in theory and practice, was ever insistent that the state must yield to the control of those ethical ideals which belong to the kingdom of God. Protestantism, he contends, having brought in the reign of nationalism and the present economic order, has been too lenient with those who have desired the nation's independence of religious control that they might use it to their own financial advantage. Now, Protestantism cannot be equally guilty of being too strenuous for the nation's moral betterment, and also too indifferent. The fact is that she is charged with both. If she should copy the mediævalists in their deep spiritual solicitude concerning national righteousness, why should she be called an interloper and an enemy of American ideals when in a great Presidential campaign like that of the fall of 1928 she opened up her pulpits in defense of her greatest reform movement, Prohibition? Surely, to be silent in such a crisis would be to abdi-

cate her prophetic throne in favor of the secularists.

Protestantism has perhaps never received such severe excoriation since the Reformation as that which came to her during the election campaign just mentioned. So severe was the attack that some of her prophets fled like Elijah before the wicked Jezebel and took refuge in the cave of pulpit silence or in the utterance of innocuous platitudes. Likewise, much censure has come to ministers and churches when the cause of world peace has been championed. Let us examine some of the contentions of those who have objected to Protestant participation in national conflicts like these.

CHAPTER II

THE PREACHER AND THE STATE

THERE are those who honestly object to any participation of preachers or the church in moral reform on the ground that it is an indirect method of effecting the union of church and state. They tell us that by generating public sentiment and supporting organized movements for civic betterment the church is influencing the nation in secular affairs, and thus curtailing political liberty. Dr. Samuel Harden Church, president of the Carnegie Institute, a popular author and the recipient of scholastic honors from many universities, whose articles have received wide publicity, condemns the church for its participation in national movements involving moral reform. He insists that the activity of reform organizations at Washington is of the nature of ecclesiastical interference in pre-Reformation days. He not only

objects to national reform societies representing the church, but even to mass meetings in churches which seek, without the slightest partisan bias, to rebuke corruptionists and purify the streams of municipal government.

When twenty-five churches in Pittsburgh merged their Sunday-evening services and held three mass meetings as a rebuke to official connivance at lawlessness, which a grand jury brought to light, the church was charged with violation of the principle of separation of church and state because it had inaugurated such a movement and caused the meetings to be held in church edifices. Doctor Church and his friends pleaded with the ministers that they confine their efforts to the spiritual edification of believers. He urged them not to become exercised over public affairs, even quoting the words of Scripture "Fret not thyself because of evildoers"! The same position has also been maintained by ecclesiastics of more or less eminence. Recently, while one bishop was battling vigorously against what he conceived to be political

wrong, another member of the same episcopal college was refusing to enter the fight on the ground that he desired only to "preach Christ and him crucified."

Now, this issue must be squarely faced. If the church is violating an American principle in speaking as a church on these matters, then she should most assuredly desist. Lawlessness practiced by a church is even more reprehensible than that committed by a bootlegger. The church must do right though the heavens fall, and if she is violating any constitutional principle, whether embodied in specific legislation or not, she must change her course. She must be above suspicion in this matter.

Fully recognizing this fact, we contend that the church in relating herself to moral issues in the national life is not only in harmony with the laws and traditions of this free land, but that failing to so do she is grossly recreant to her duty. Let us study this contention. In doing so we must not be diverted by the charge that individuals and sometimes reform organizations have been

guilty of indefensible conduct. No movement, however worthy, has been able to entirely free itself from the unwise and the wicked. Even the cure of souls has been attempted by villains. We are not, therefore, called upon to defend everything connected with reform movements promoted by the church. What we contend is that the principle of participation by the church and its leaders in the moral conflicts of the nation is ethically sound and genuinely American.

Let us ask, What is the separation of church and state? Obviously, it is the effort of the government to deal impartially with all religious bodies. The union of church and state is specific alliance of the nation exclusively with one religious organization. The members of that organization can rightly expect political favors and appropriation of public funds. It is this which the American government has repudiated; but does this mean repudiation of all religious influence in governmental affairs? By no means, for all religious bodies now have equal access to the

government and none is given any precedence. This means more religion, not less. Religion in government is not confined to prayers in Congress or thanksgiving proclamations. It is the ethical urge for civic righteousness. Here is the religious opportunity which the American government provides.

There is much haziness in the popular thinking concerning the limitations imposed by the American doctrine of religious liberty. In Charles W. Bacon's *American Plan of Government,* the subtitle of which is "The Constitution of the United States as Interpreted by Accepted Authorities," we find a clear statement on this subject. In commenting on the First Amendment to the Constitution, which states, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," Professor Bacon makes plain the two things the Amendment pronounces un-American: first, the use of public funds to support any religious sect or its officers, and, second, any governmental determination of

religious doctrines. Can the preaching of civic righteousness and the injection of Christian ethics in any wise be construed as a violation of either of these constitutional prohibitions? It certainly has nothing to do with the diversion of public funds. The American church is wholly self-supporting. When it deals with public life it is none the less financially independent. Surely, the government is not involved in the settlement of any religious issue when the church promotes the public good. If these are the only points at which the first constitutional amendment may be violated, then the church in seeking civic purification cannot be in great danger of un-American procedure.

When the critics are routed at this point they fall back upon two positions: first, that the church will lose her spiritual power if she speak on political issues, and, second, that she will become a political party and deliver a clerical or an ecclesiastical vote, thus damaging democracy. With the first position we need not tarry long. Most of the expressed fear that the church will lose her spiritual

power comes from those who have never shown any interest in preserving the spiritual life of the church. Editors, magazine writers, and secularists, many of whom have nothing to do with the church, are the chief alarmists here. They do not come into court with clean hands, and their plea may therefore be dismissed. Where the plea is sincere it is largely due to misinformation. The days of spiritual power have been those of combat with wickedness in high places. The spiritual church has thundered at thrones and challenged kings, as we have already seen. The second position is dealt with in a later chapter, the contention being that the prophetic church never becomes partisan. It is the failure of the pulpit to apply the gospel to political life that encourages solid partisanship. Where, then, is any possible basis for the view that when churches organize to promote law enforcement, to curb social evils, and to effect supporting legislation, they are violating the principle of the separation of church and state?

The only people who can consistently ob-

ject to this are the secularists, those who have no religion. They are a very small minority, and they are the people whom Protestantism, according to Doctor Cadman, has permitted too largely to mold political life. Our real contention is with these secularists. Many of them are Christian in name, but they seek, not the moral betterment of the nation, but political preferment for themselves and their church. Others are pure secularists and irreligionists to whom government is a mere expedient to aid selfish aggrandizement, and in the exploitation of the government to that end they desire to be large participants.

Now, over against this crass materialism, which often seeks to clothe itself in garments of light, is placed the passion of the church to bring in the kingdom of God. That term may be made as broad and all-inclusive as we like if only the objective be the lifting of the moral tone of the nation and the encouragement of righteousness. Protestantism does not desire a monopoly in moral uplift. Let Roman Catholics and Jews and Mormons

and Mohammedans, if they will, organize their forces and promote reform societies seeking to eliminate graft, to extend sobriety, and enforce obedience to law, and Protestantism will join hands with them. It has not criticized organized movements of this kind even in the ages of hierarchical domination. What it criticized, then, was organization for political preferment. Such organization in the present day it will and must oppose to the end, but reform movements backed by any religious body are gladly hailed. Here is an open field. The religious bodies concerned with this are not numerous outside of Protestantism.

The Protestant Church in furthering these reform movements is gaining nothing for itself as such. If it were seeking personal promotion for its ministers or members it would take a different course. No man joins the Anti-Saloon League or any other reform force hoping to gain favor with the politicians. They are not moved to partiality by the continuous prodding to ethical conduct which reform leaders give. Just the opposite

is the effect. The politicians would breathe a sigh of relief all over the land if every reform society were permanently withdrawn. Because Protestantism will not withdraw from the field of battle for civic righteousness she receives all manner of abuse. The press, the theater, the novelists, and the cynical magazine editors find their favorite indoor sport in condemning militant Protestantism at the point where it assumes a prophetic attitude toward public wrong. Those denominations which are not thus prophetically militant are treated with greater fairness, and the presumption is warranted that if Protestantism as a whole were to relapse into a discreet silence on the moral aspects of public life, its treatment would be similarly fair. It has nothing to gain and everything to lose from a selfish standpoint in pursuing its prophetic course. Its reward is in its consciousness of fidelity to its own convictions and of having helped forward great moral movements which even its foes tardily acknowledge have brought blessing to the nation. The Church of Jesus Christ must be

THE STATE

"True to all truth the world denies,
Not tongue-tied for its gilded sin.
Not always right in all men's eyes,
But faithful to the light within."

—*Oliver Wendell Holmes.*

CHAPTER III

THE PREACHER'S EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE

If there is nothing in American tradition and law inconsistent with the promotion by the church of movements for civic betterment, the question arises, What is the practical benefit derived therefrom? On the practical side opposition has been based on several grounds. It is contended that church movements in the interest of public righteousness are usually futile. Unprogressive politicians have always reminded us that if a candidate had the open espousal of the church people, it would insure his defeat. Candidates for office have been quoted as saying that they would much rather have the saloon vote than the church vote, and sometimes churchmen, who were candidates for public office, preferred that their pastors would not publicly indorse them, fearing it would be a mere contribution of futility.

Consequently, Christian people have been confirmed in the conviction that the preacher should remain silent. Let us look at this contention.

It is probably true that at times church reform movements and election efforts have been ineffective. When there has been no organization of Christian sentiment; when the churches seeking betterment have lacked influence and numbers, or when the church as a whole has been content with mere platitudes and generalities in the pulpit on the Sunday immediately preceding election day, then the reform forces have usually suffered defeat. This condition is being changed today. No longer is the church scorned because of the futility of its efforts. It is now being excoriated by its enemies because they have felt the potency of its opposition. The Anti-Saloon League, for example, which is "the church in action against the saloon," does not by any means fight "as one that beateth the air." The swift defeat of liquor candidates and causes is blamed on that strenuous body. Its bitter enemies are those who have

felt its power. The same is true of other temperance and reform organizations which are the offspring of the church. The very fact that positive antagonists of prohibition are telling us with almost every utterance that the saloon must not come back, is a high compliment to the effectiveness of the church in moral reform. The church, standing almost alone, was in action against the saloon for a generation. Industrialists, social workers, the medical profession, and many others felt its evil influence, but none was organized as such to kill it. The church only was organized and militant. Now the saloon has gone, and its former friends and patrons, still opposed to prohibition, tell us it must not come back. Surely, the church has shown that it can be effective in moral reform.

Likewise the various organizations for the promotion of peace which represent the Christian Church have been so powerful in molding peace sentiment that, at the point of naval appropriations and the Kellogg Peace Pact, the militarists have had to repeat the

cry of history, "O Galilæan, thou hast conquered." It is not against any impotency of the church in public life that modern pagans rage and irreligious "people imagine a vain thing," but it is against the moral puissance of the Church of God, which they have so keenly felt, that their raging proceeds.

Granting that the church is not impotent to-day in her impact on public life, another question arises, closely related to the one discussed in the previous chapter, but distinct from it. That question is, Has the church a right to exercise this potent influence at legislative halls? Here the church is not criticized for violating the principle of the separation of church and state, but for promoting a tyranny of minority rule. The forces which oppose Christian ideals always profess to be in the majority. Perhaps they are if we should strictly define personal devotion to Christ, even though the church members and adherents vastly outnumber the secularists. If we should grant that the militant Christians are in the minority, and as such, by organization and arousal of public

sentiment, exert an influence out of proportion to their numbers, we still maintain that this is in no sense a departure from true Americanism. The right of small groups to organize for the promotion of their sentiments is vindicated frequently in American history. Indeed, America herself came into being just by this process, for it was a small group of British subjects whose organized protest wrested liberty from the tyrant George III. The colonists' doctrine spread through England and Europe and manifested itself in the degree of English apathy toward movements to suppress the revolt of the Americans.

The Abolitionists as a minority, prior to the Civil War, disseminated antislavery sentiment until those less radical were fired with a saner enthusiasm and the whole North rose to the support of the emancipation policy. Prohibition came because the minority in the beginning lived and labored for the overthrow of the liquor power, and the legal exclusion of the liquor trade which followed has been repeatedly pronounced by the high-

est legal tribunal in the land to be entirely harmonious with American constitutional rights.

The church stands on solid ground in this connection. Not only is the principle sound, but the practice is an American commonplace to-day. Peter H. Odegard, in his recent book *Pressure Politics,* tells us that seven years ago one United States senator pointed to one hundred and seventy national organizations which operated through headquarters at Washington. The author defends their right to function on the ground that American interests are too extensive and varied to find adequate representation under a two-party political system. The various propaganda organizations seem to him to be just as necessary as are political parties. Since that senator enumerated one hundred and seventy organizations at the capital the number has vastly increased. A book has just been published entitled *Group Representation Before Congress.*[1] It is devoted

[1] *Group Representation Before Congress,* by E. P. Herring. Johns Hopins Press. Reprinted by permission.

entirely to this subject, and the author declares that the number can now be conservatively estimated at over five hundred. This shows the trend in American legislative method. It seems to be generally approved. It is but a reflection of the complexity inherent in advancing civilization. The trend is ever away from the simple life. Complexity will bring utter confusion unless the multiplied interests are classified and legislation will become increasingly unintelligent unless each interest shall have some means of orderly representation to the legislators.

Those who object to reform organizations at the capital will have to do a vast amount of objecting to be consistent. Their objection thus falls to the ground. It is vain for presidents and politicians to tell religious groups that their work of molding character is the greatest in the world and then shut them out from any effective way of building legislative safeguards about the characters they have molded. If the national leaders speak the truth, the church should have the largest hearing at legislative halls, not plead-

ing for patronage or pelf, but for the correction of moral wrongs which negative its ministry.

Thus far in our discussion we have assumed a defensive position, claiming that the church has a right to speak out concerning civic righteousness. We turn now to the offensive. Those who would retard the church in its attack on civic wrongs have much to answer for. Wherever these wrongs persist amid the silence of the pulpit the conservatives must be brought to judgment. There are great cities in this land, with numerous churches, flourishing Bible classes, and prosperous Sunday schools, where political corruption, flagrant lawlessness, and civic indifference abound. In these cities it is almost impossible to secure an outstanding Christian citizen even to be a candidate for the office of mayor. Political machines dominate the government and carry their slimy ramifications down through the school and the home. On election days only thirty per cent of the better citizens go to the polls, while the underprivileged and immoral

classes turn out one hundred per cent. Sunday after Sunday throughout the year preachers and Bible-class teachers tell their hearers of corrupt practices in the days of Joshua and David, and much detailed study is given to the way in which the local politics of Jerusalem and the federal corruption of Rome conspired with the civic indifference of the people to perpetrate that gigantic miscarriage of justice, the crucifixion of Jesus. Yet no reference is made to the parallel corruption at that very hour within a radius of a few miles of those churches. Under negative preaching corrupt politicians are born and reared. Many of our worst political leaders have been cradled in the church. Among the worst I know is one who has daughters in one of our great churches. These women resent any criticism of such leaders, while their father is reputed to be often moved to tears at the memory of his "old-time religion!" Another, still more prominent in political demoralization, pleads for the support of the church people on the ground that his mother was a godly Methodist!

This is the heritage which a generation of cautious preachers and conservative churches has passed on to posterity. It is not in the least degree complimentary. If we are to be known by our fruits—and a good tree cannot bring forth corrupt fruit—then there must be something wrong with the method of preaching the so-called "simple gospel," and adhering so closely to "the old Book." Of course the fact is that we have neither preached the simple gospel nor fully expounded the Bible. Instead of a simple and direct gospel which shows that political double-dealing, evasion, and deceit invite the wrath of God, we have explained away political responsibility by a kind of expediential casuistry. The youth growing up under such preaching has not learned to blush with shame and burn with indignation at connivance of wrong for political gain. He has not been made to see clearly that to steal the government from the people is the equivalent of a bank robbery; that to hold up the decent citizens by an astute cultivation of indifference on their part while the politician fills his

coffers is the perfect parallel to the procedure of a highwayman. He has not been impressed with the truth that Jesus' blistering excoriations in the twenty-third chapter of Matthew, which make Sinai mild by comparison, were an expression of the Master's thought concerning political corruptionists. He has not been led to understand that "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" means that to defraud the government is as great a sin as to attempt to rob God. Surely, no generation could have been reared with such a vision of divine concern for righteous government and then go out and approve or tolerate the type of political corruption which shames us to-day.

There have been some glorious voices lifted in the past against a silent church in a sinning state, and to these voices some have given heed. More than forty-five years ago there sat in the chair of sacred rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary the late Professor Austin Phelps. In his lectures, *Men and Books,* he warned his students of the danger of an innocuous pulpit. He told of

a conversation with a minister who advocated reticence in the pulpit on the slavery issue. To test him he asked what, in his opinion, a preacher sent to Utah should do about polygamy, and the answer was, "He should let it alone." In astonishment Doctor Phelps asked if he really meant that the preacher should be silent on the legalized adultery which then prevailed, and received an affirmative answer. "Then what would you have him preach about?" he asked, and the answer was, "The gospel!" The professor tells of a preacher who, on the day of national fast and humiliation following the assassination of President Lincoln, said some very mild things about the evils of lawlessness. It perturbed the congregation visibly. Doctor Phelps on hearing it remarked that "It might have been bolder without disturbing Enoch," to which his friend replied, "It was a great deal for us to hear. We are not used to hearing anything from our pulpit that means anybody." In contrast to this the professor quoted Coleridge: "If I were a preacher at Saint Paul's in London, I would

not preach against smuggling; but if I were a preacher in a village of wreckers on the coast, see if I would preach against anything else!"[2]

[2] *Men and Books*, by Austin Phelps. Pp. 28, 29.

CHAPTER IV

THE PREACHER IS NOT PARTISAN

STILL further, putting on the defensive those who plead for pulpit silence on public issues, let us consider the contention that the preaching of the gospel of individual salvation is sufficient without its civic or political application. Let us suppose a typical case. Here is a group of men who hear the gospel of individual salvation, embrace it, receive Jesus Christ into their hearts as Lord and Saviour. Their business takes them into public life. They see things differently. Practices which were considered legitimate now appear morally reprehensible. They seek to correct them. They meet immediate opposition from those who have long approved such practices. They see that as individuals or as a small group they can do nothing. They organize and gain a following. The issue is joined. The world, the

flesh, and the devil conspire to crush them. People of good reputation stand aloof from the struggle. Many sympathizers feel that too great a sacrifice is involved if they support the reform. Where shall these reformers look for moral aid and encouragement? Naturally they turn to the church.

They talk with the preacher and the Bible-class teacher. These men are sympathetic, but when asked to speak on the subject and arouse sentiment in their support there is a hesitancy and finally a refusal on the ground that the church must confine itself to the gospel! Remember, it was here at its altars they received their initial impulse. Thus the church leaves its own offspring on the steps to die! It cannot longer with consistency condemn the mother who abandons her own flesh and blood. Indeed, it is hard to see how it can consistently preach the gospel at all. It has repudiated that gospel as soon as it began to function. It has set limits to its operation. So long as that gospel related itself to death the church had soothing hymns and challenges of defiance to the king of ter-

rors, but as soon as that gospel functioned toward life and the establishment of Christ's kingdom on this earth, then the church halted, lost its song and had no word of cheer or challenge! What a contradiction, what a reversal of the whole message of the Master! Those who defend such a misinterpretation and call it the "simple gospel" are surely on the defensive with crumbling ramparts.

Many preachers, recognizing this as an untenable position, have moved a few paces forward and have called their people to vote on election day. This is good, but we cannot stop there. For this call to vote is a hollow one if it have not the background of effective teaching concerning the application of the gospel to political action. The people who do not see any relation between the gospel which they hear every Sunday and the vote which they should cast on election day naturally regard the act of balloting as a perfunctory and meaningless thing. They go to the ballot box uninstructed. They are confronted with names of candidates they do

not know. It is easier to vote the straight ticket than seek to discriminate among men who are all nonentities to them. Thus what the church has accomplished by stirring a few negligent members to vote is counteracted by the fact that such voters simply make stronger the dominant party which is usually the mother of local corruption.

Nor can the church by this half-way measure of merely stressing the importance of voting occupy a neutral position. In some churches the mere call to vote is regarded by many as an excursion on the part of the minister into the realm of party politics. During the Presidential election of 1928, when more pulpits were bringing a prophetic message than had been the case for a decade, three able Protestant ministers, one of them of national reputation, attempted a neutral position, and each of them signally failed. Nothing could have been more skillfully wrought than their adroit avoidance of the burning issues of the hour, yet each was immediately classed as a partisan. It was but another illustration of the fact that neutrality is im-

possible where great moral issues are involved. "He that is not with me is against me." The church, therefore, if it shall say anything at all, must take a positive stand. Even silence makes it partisan, for the forces of wickedness count the church with them when it silences its prophets.

What, then, shall we do? Is political partisanship the only way out? By no means. Political partisanship should be no part of the program of the church. Here comes a surprising deliverance from the dilemma. Strange as it may at first seem, we believe it true that as the church takes a positive stand on the application of the gospel to all life, including civic, political, and economic issues, it escapes the road to partisanship. The religion of Jesus cuts sharply across the path of the political partisan. While for a time it may seem to travel the same road with him, the paths soon diverge. Again the Anti-Saloon League serves as an illustration. Formed largely by Republicans, and sometimes called a partisan organization, its full history reveals that it has stood often with

the Democrats and that it belongs to neither party. The cordial hatred of politicians of both parties is high testimony to the fact that it has been cleaving closely to the line and has cut across all partisanship.

No political party operating on partisan lines and with political expediency as its guiding principle can ever be wholly acceptable to a gospel prophet. His gospel cannot conform to its ideals nor support, unqualifiedly, its candidates. If he speak on the subject at all, and make no compromise with his gospel, he will inevitably oppose many of its planks and become unacceptable to its partisans. He cannot be a party politician if he would. May not this very fact be the reason he has been so often urged by his leading laymen to "let politics alone"? Those laymen know that they cannot depend on him to promote their party. Some of the things he may say from the pulpit would help them, and they do not strongly object to that, but much also that he says may give aid and comfort to their political foes. They feel it is better, all things considered, for him to keep

quiet. Is not that the very reason he should speak? We do not want a partisan in the pulpit, but a prophet. If he keep silent, he is not a prophet. The only thing for him to do to maintain his prophetic fidelity is to apply faithfully the living gospel of Jesus to the political situation.

This type of preaching saves the minister from many pitfalls. Many have avoided it, hoping to escape pitfalls, while into the worst of them they have fallen. There is the pitfall of partiality. It is a grievous charge against a minister that he favors certain elements in his congregation and neglects others —that he uses the pulpit, on which all have claim, to further the designs of his favorites. Thus a minister whose public utterances help the political party of his most influential members may be justly criticized. There is a minority in his congregation whose moral sentiments, expressed through an opposing party, are as truly entitled to pulpit emphasis as are those of the more influential group. This fear of partiality has doubtless driven many an honest minister into silence or into

harmless platitudes about the sins of the antediluvians. There is no escape. His silence or his avoidance, as we have contended, involves a denial of his prophetic function.

How, then, shall he consistently proceed? Courageous advance is the only course open to him. By applying his gospel directly to the moral issues involved he will be fair to all. The only aspects of a political situation which can be rightly expected in pulpit presentation are moral aspects. If the preacher apply the ethics of Jesus to the situation, he speaks with becoming impartiality. The struggling minority party in his congregation, which may have better ethics than the prosperous organization, will recognize honest treatment while the better element in the larger group will be heartened by his moral passion.

Thus is also avoided the pitfall of the commonplace. A man often says, "I do not want to go to church on Sunday and hear the same things I have been reading all the week in newspapers and magazines." That is true. He should not. Now, the moral inter-

pretation of current events by a prophet of Christ is exactly what men do not hear nor read during the week. The newspapers and magazines abound with partisanship and expediency. Few people, comparatively, read the religious press. The frank, outspoken word concerning moral values tested in the balances of God is conspicuous for its absence in secular circles. If the minister does not speak it, it is not spoken. If the business man who has absorbed two newspapers a day and several magazines a week comes to the house of God on Sunday, he has a right to hear something new and fresh. Nothing is so interesting to him as some new aspect of that very political or civic problem from which he asks to be relieved. He does not want an echo of the press. This should not be given him, but, in spite of himself, he does want some fresh and vigorous discussion of a problem with which he is familiar. Therefore, he should not always be relegated to the days of Joshua nor even led through the intricacies of Paul's journeys. He needs, and at the last analysis he wants, the moral

analysis of the life he knows, from the standpoint of Jesus Christ. It will startle him to discover how little has been written, after all, on the very essence of modern secular problems. He may be temporarily displeased, but he will recognize a prophet of God when he hears him and will listen with respect and attention. When speaking frankly he will say, "I had not thought of it that way before." This is one of the highest compliments the prophet can receive. It echoes distantly, though with reality, the high compliment paid the Divine Preacher by his foes: "Never man spake like this man."

Supremely such prophetic preaching of politics will help correct the smug indifference of hurtful partisanship which so often dominates the church. When political partisans in the church deprecate political preaching on the ground that it is bringing politics into the church, they do not speak correctly. Politics of an intensely partisan and pagan character is there already. There have been plenty of churches solidly Republican or solidly Democratic. Partisan leaders have

been glad to have it so. They do not want the prevailing party-solidarity broken up, and they well know that if the pulpit become truly prophetic, that solid alliance will go. Our problem is not the keeping of partisan politics out of the church, but it is the problem of eliminating such politics. Most congregations are not aware of the extent to which this partisan solidarity prevails. Nothing but a prophetic pulpit can drive out and keep out partisan politics. Political influence is so insidious that while many conscientious Bible-class teachers and preachers would not under any circumstances mention politics nor permit a partisan to stand in the sacred desk, thinking thereby to be nonpartisan, the real reason is that they fear the cultivation of an ethical nonpartisanship which would tend to disintegrate the congenial partisanship which prevails. It is as much the duty of the preacher to help eliminate such partisanship as it is to keep his pulpit from being turned into a rostrum for the partisan candidate.

Thus may the church rise to a new exercise

of her power. While reform organizations are of great value, it should always be remembered that the church as such has a far greater potency than all such agencies combined. The trouble is that this potency is largely latent. Multitudes of churches which are effective in the promotion of individual piety are never heard from in public life. Evil forces do not fear them. Their pastors are recognized as men of learning and solid character, but men who are never found in the public arena fighting with the beasts of Ephesus. The world of wickedness desires the church to continue this course. It excoriates bitterly every church and minister leaving this beaten path of moral and spiritual respectability. But as John Wesley "consented to be more vile," as he put it, and stepped out into the streets as a target for the mob, so the modern church must lay aside her sensitiveness and direct her moral passion against every form of public iniquity that defies her Lord. This does not mean that her preachers shall forsake personal evangelism nor leave the flock unshepherded. Just the

reverse of this is needed. Only as a preacher is truly evangelistic and pastoral in his ministry does he have a background which warrants discussion of public life. The extent to which large numbers of people love and claim him as a personal friend and spiritual guide determines his success or failure in public combat. The world of reform has had too many peripatetic preachers who belong nowhere and for whom the church feels no responsibility. When all the great churches which love and respond to the leadership of their pastors shall, through those pastors, speak with a courageous and unmistakable voice against public wrong, not simply in General Conference and Assemblies, but from their own pulpits as well; when with willingness to sacrificially suffer for Christ's sake all the excoriation and misrepresentation that will inevitably ensue, then will the cause of public righteousness move forward with leaps and bounds and the kingdom of Christ on earth come near.

The preacher should not be a political partisan nor a "vote-getter" as such. What he

says on political questions should be said in public. Working privately for any party or candidate is doubtful ministerial procedure. The confidence of his people can be best maintained if the preacher speak and work in the open. Excessive discussion of public life from the pulpit will hinder the cause just as excessive emphasis of any one doctrine will dull the edge of interest. We do not plead for constant preaching on public issues. That there should be on occasion clear, fearless, frank, and kindly utterance on moral issues in political campaigns is our firm conviction.

Such a task for the preacher is a difficult one. But all true gospel preaching is difficult. It led to the stake in cruder times, but it leads to the cross at all times.

"No easy hopes or lies will bring us to our goal,
But iron sacrifice of body, mind, and soul."

CHAPTER V

THE PREACHER AND PATRIOTISM

Some who will grant in the main the position taken in the foregoing chapters, will ask for a more critical examination of the foundations of government. While they admit that there are many practical benefits accruing to the nation through the direct influence of the Christian Church, they still possess a lurking fear lest the church, even with the best intention, shall make inroads upon pure nationalism when she leads movements, however laudable, for moral reform. The question of patriotism is involved. The church must surely be patriotic. All grant the need of this. She must love the country and must teach in her congregations and schools the most genuine devotion to the nation, the Constitution and the flag. No dissent is registered here. Indeed, if the church did not teach and promote patriotism, she would re-

ceive stern rebuke from the government itself, especially in time of war. What, then, is genuine patriotism?

Going back to the theory of national government we find many definitions of nationalism. Perhaps the best is that which regards the state and the nation as not necessarily synonymous, the term "state" standing for political authority and "nation" meaning the body of people under that sovereignty. The people may have no authority, and thus, strictly speaking, that nation is not a state. Ideal government combines the state and the nation and forms a sovereign people. Now, if this people shall possess and retain statehood as well as national coherence, there must be intelligence and moral character. The contention that government must deal only with physical conditions, provide protection against enemies, promote commercial and industrial development, and manage its finances efficiently, but have nothing to do with the essence of morals and religion, is not well supported.

This is the view held by Professor William

McDougall in his work *The Indestructible Union.*[1] He maintains that a nation is more than a physiological or biological fact, and that it has even a spiritual being. This seems to be the trend of modern thinking. We are moving from the old militaristic conception of a nation and are coming to see that it is a social organism. This changes the whole objective of national existence. Whereas the nation existed only to serve effectively in time of war, it is now seen to exist as a social servant promoting the best interests of its citizens individually and collectively.

It is probable that the militaristic conception of the nation has had much to do with the hesitancy of many to involve the church in political purification. Militarism means the subservience of citizens and organizations to national control. It is regarded as unpatriotic to offer any criticism of public life. Complete military control means the elimination of free speech and makes the church a tool of state. Democracy and militarism have nothing in common, but while the United

[1] Little, Brown & Company, publishers, Boston.

States has much democracy it has been difficult to eliminate wholly the autocratic view of the state. Such a conception tends to hold the church aloof from the nation except in times of war. Thus it has been difficult for us to think and feel patriotically in times of peace. All our accompaniments of patriotism are militaristic, such as the band, the procession, the equipment of sword and rifle and helmet. We sing "The Star-Spangled Banner," which breathes the atmosphere of war. When there is no war and when we lay aside all of our military paraphernalia our patriotism evaporates. What shall we do in days of peace to show our patriotism? Many have no answer. This shows that even in a free republic the military conception of the nation obtains.

It is the social conception of government that is forging to the front. It is becoming increasingly apparent that patriotism is the support of the government in all movements for social betterment. To declare that we love the nation while at the same time we oppose its effort to improve conditions is to

be inconsistent if not hypocritical. With a military conception of government such a contradiction is easily reconciled. With a social conception it is irreconcilable. If then the church shall be patriotic in any progressive sense it must support the government's social policy. This thrusts us into the very heart of the reform movement. The churches that are not promoting moral reform have difficulty in proving their patriotism.

It will be contended, however, that while the church may consistently support movements that have actually become national policies, it may not consistently function in the creation of those policies. Here, however, we swing back to the old militaristic view which is that the people must support whatever the government decrees, but have no right to mold the sentiments of that government. In a democracy the government is the creature of the people. Its creation by them is a continuous process. Every governmental policy is a crystallization of popular sentiment and that sentiment, either of support or dissent, is constantly in flux. We

cannot, therefore, in a democracy draw a clear line between a governmental policy crystallized and one in process of development. If, to be patriotic, the church should support only the established governmental policy, it should hold itself aloof from moral movements which are in the process of becoming national policies. In other words, militarism makes clear cleavages which democracy does not tolerate. Patriotism is not merely the support of government that is, but the support of movements which shall cause the best type of government to be. Thus the church in a democracy cannot be patriotic and disregard moral movements that may eventually harden into governmental policy.

We may reach the same conclusion by another line of thought. Patriotism, in the nature of the case, is love of the principles and ideals historically inwrought with the structure of the nation. No man can be a true patriot who loves only the physical and commercial characteristics of his country. Here is a man who is employed by a large

corporation. He is expected to be loyal to that institution and exercise toward it that which is the equivalent of patriotic devotion to a nation. He cannot be truly loyal to the corporation unless he respects and admires its history, its policies, its objectives and its ideals. If he despises all these and likes the corporation only because of its mechanical operation and commercial success in which he shares, then in no proper sense can he be truly loyal. No more can a citizen be loyal to his country if only its physical and financial features appeal to him.

What is the history of the United States and what are its objectives and its ideals? The late Justice David J. Brewer made an answer more than a quarter of a century ago in his lectures at Haverford College on *The United States a Christian Nation.*[2] Profound scholarship, extensive historical research, the judicial temper of mind and broad catholicity eminently qualified him for his task. He shows that the Christian religion was involved in all colonial enterprises, that

[2] The John C. Winston Co., publishers, Philadelphia.

it was inwrought with the State and federal enactments in the establishment of the American government, and that the social and religious institutions of the land, which are so inextricably interwoven in the fabric of the national life, are all distinctively Christian. By direct enactment, by implication, by common practice, he concludes that this is a Christian nation. He insists that this is not a matter of opinion, but one of indisputable fact. He avers that the clear evidence is found in official records and governmental archives.

If, therefore, one shall truly love the United States, he must be devoted to the principles of the Christian faith. One who rejects Christianity and assumes an attitude of intense hostility toward it must have great difficulty in qualifying as a true American patriot. If patriotism is to be anything more than a passive acceptance of American institutions and life, it must be aggressively Christian. Moreover, the man who is not a professed Christian and who may not be particularly sympathetic with any one or all of

the branches of the Christian Church, and yet loves the United States and works ardently to enrich and purify her national life, cannot be said to be un-Christian, for that which he seeks patriotically is that which the Christian Church seeks religiously. How inconsistent, then, for the church to ignore matters governmental when her very life-blood is that which courses through the national arteries, when those arteries are not hardened by abuse or premature old age! If the American body politic shall live, the church must constantly infuse it with spiritual vitality. The supreme source of this life is, of course, the mystic fellowship with God which comes to its highest through individual faith in Jesus Christ. As we have seen, however, this religious life may exist without surcharging the circulatory system of the political organism. The fear that spiritual vitality will be dissipated by too close contact of the church with political life has already been noted. A further word may be appropriate. Some sincere people fear that the individual Christian is in grave danger of losing his piety if

he enter the realm of political reform. Every occupation has its peculiar spiritual peril. The late Bishop John H. Vincent used to say that he often wondered if ministers could be saved amid the snares of the clerical profession. Any man who loses his religion simply because of the temptations of political life would probably have lost it in any other occupation. Moreover, as we have seen, most men are already in some type of partisan politics. We are not pleading that they go deeper, but that they change their objective and seek not partisan victory, but moral purification.

The fear that the stream of poisoned politics will pollute the church is a wholesome one, provided it stimulate men to purify that stream. You cannot free a city from typhoid by teaching the people to do without water, or even to boil the water that they drink. There is no adequate cure but filtration at the source. The poison of politics has already entered the church. "For this cause many are weak and sickly, . . . and many sleep." The pity is that in the church

so few are vigorously seeking to eliminate the poison of politics. They tolerate it in the church, hence they tolerate it in government. Nothing would react more favorably toward the purification of church government than a campaign of sincere and prophetic aggression against poisoned politics in the state. Perhaps even the sneer "Physician, heal thyself," would scourge us to set our own house in order. No, the only danger from poisoned politics is that we carry to the task of governmental betterment the infection of personal ambition for office which we have already contracted. The sacrificial spirit which forgets self and which prompts willingness to be a fool or a martyr for Christ's sake is the only spirit which will ever make the nation better and effectually project it on "its lone way" of Christian statehood.

The preacher must proclaim and propagate this type of patriotism. He must not be a cynic nor a pessimist when he assumes the rôle of a patriotic prophet. Without extravagant boasting or evasion of moral responsibility it is his to bring men to a true

appreciation of what God has wrought in America's greatness. A physical basis in extent and resourcefulness greater than others enjoy has been given to America. Years ago the late Josiah Strong published a map showing the territorial superiority of America to all Europe. According to this map, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and what was formerly Austria could be accommodated east of the Mississippi. Belgium, Holland, and Greece could rest comfortably in the one State of Arkansas. Great Britain, European Turkey, Switzerland, Denmark, Portugal and Palestine could have abundant room in Texas; Norway and Sweden do not exceed in extent two of our Western States —Arizona and New Mexico. After opening our territorial arms to more than sixteen modern nations we would still have room for China proper and Japan.

Such vast territorial possessions do not in any wise make us "land poor." It is a truism that we are the richest nation of the world. We are the banker government for all the nations. Our national wealth of three hun-

dred and fifty billions of dollars, though not as widely distributed as we could wish, is better distributed than in other nations of the world. The rank and file of our people have more luxuries and know less of the pinch of poverty than the rest of mankind. Our twenty-four million automobiles are to a surprising extent owned by people of moderate means. By far the largest percentage cost eight hundred dollars each, and less. Only two per cent are said to cost twenty-five hundred dollars each, and over. It has come to be a proverb that there is no money in catering exclusively to the rich. The Ford Corporation, the Standard Oil, the Singer Sewing Machine, and the Woolworth millions are all confirmatory of this.

We are not as a nation spending all of our money on luxuries, nor even on the physical comforts of life. We care for the mind. Our educational system compares well with the best. Our high schools lead the world. Our millionaires are not simply buying private yachts or building palatial residences or toying with expensive airships. They are also

putting money into education. We have over one hundred and sixty universities endowed with at least one million dollars each. The youth of our land is crowding our enlarged colleges beyond their capacity and the waiting list is long.

We have high ideals in America. The lawlessness which we discuss in subsequent chapters is not the outgrowth of any inherent moral deficiency in the American stock. Judge Marcus Kavanagh, in his stimulating book *The Criminal and His Allies,*[3] tells us that disgusting practices are tolerated by the police of London which would cost a chief of police in an average American city his position within a week; that Paris, with its three million population, has more people carrying on immoral trade than America with its one hundred and twelve millions. That this is not due to the vices of American and other visitors is evidenced by the fact that three fifths of the patrons are French people. He says that crimes against common decency are so common in European

[3] The Bobbs-Merrill Company, publishers, Indianapolis.

cities like Berlin, Vienna, and Rome that though we are called the most criminal nation in the world, and though in England murderers are far more summarily dealt with, yet if there is any choice of evil practices, ours are far less heinous than theirs.

America is not inherently vicious. The vast proportion of her people are of a higher moral grade than can be found elsewhere. If Europe is inferior, surely the pagan world drops far below. Our trouble is that we are too tolerant of the forces which disparage the high ideals of our nation, and which find financial profit and popularity in the insidious and semi-humorous attacks on the moral nobility of our land. Many of these come from men of foreign birth or parentage who take advantage of our liberty and practice license to the damage of our moral tone. While large numbers of our foreign and foreign-born population are more loyal to the flag than some of the descendants of the Pilgrims, yet there is a large number of the second generation who, having escaped the severer restriction of the Old World, have

become intoxicated with the liberty of the New and contribute to our criminality. Not only so, but perhaps the chief danger is from the educated, second-generation foreigners who control many of our magazines, newspapers, and our motion pictures. Some of these have excellent mental training. Some are only shrewd money-makers. Many of both classes have no deep moral convictions. Expediency and success are their twin rules of life. The nation means no more to them than a business corporation to which they are attached. All they ask is that it bring them financial profit and that it shall not restrict their liberties.

These men have breathed the un-American atmosphere generated by many newspapers which make heroes out of criminals, write up successful escapes of murderers and thieves, and give glowing pictures of the escapades of those who have recently become rich. American patriotism is ground between the upper and the nether millstone at this point. We have here the crude foreigner whose unjust treatment in the Old World makes him an

enemy of all government. We have also the educated foreign-born who seizes our instruments of publicity and with a shrewd sense of commercial values generates unpatriotic sentiment with such plausibility that native Americans assimilate it and unconsciously become at least passive enemies of the Constitution and the flag. The preacher must step into this breach and, with intelligence and moral passion, use his abundant opportunities of public address and professional teaching to promote genuine American patriotism.

CHAPTER VI

THE PREACHER AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

THAT the preacher of the gospel of Christ has a distinctive responsibility in the promotion of obedience to law should be generally admitted. His gospel preaching has the background of Old Testament history, which is a perpetual proclamation of the sanctity of law. There we find the striking picture of chaos giving place to the cosmos through the orderly process of law. The complete development of the moral cosmos is

> "The one far-off divine event,
> To which the whole creation moves."

It is of no consequence that gas and water and rock and earth develop into orderliness through the long eons of evolution if human society cannot come to like symmetry through the molding influences of the moral law of God. Genesis is but a prelude to

Deuteronomy. Sinai outshines Eden, and Calvary's sublime presentation of the law of love eclipses both by reason of the glory that excelleth. All Old Testament stories mark the onward progress toward the triumph of law. Moses is a lawgiver. Joshua, though a militarist, is the legal executioner of the Canaanitish civilization that is not fit to live. The rude days of the Judges have as the one redeeming feature of their horrible barbarities the functioning of judges whose crudities are less cruel than the lawlessness which they displace. Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles tell the story of law administered by the hand of royalty. While all the Kings reveal the folly of the dictum "The king can do no wrong," yet they also make plain the way in which a righteous ruler can develop respect for law and thus promote the happiness of the people. Psalms is a book of legal laudations. Its longest canticle is a perpetual eulogy of law. Proverbs is packed with sententious maxims concerning the expediency of law observance. It was fitting that from that book President Hoover should select a

favorite passage on Inauguration Day—"Where there is no vision, the people perish: but he that keepeth the law, happy is he." The prophets are profound and practical expositors of the law. The rule of righteousness was the rule by which they measured all life.

The New Testament equally extols the law. Jesus announced that he came not to destroy, but to fulfill. Love increases moral capacity to obey. Paul says that the law failed only where moral vitality was low, and God sending his own Son provided such energizing potency for the human spirit as to make lawlessness inexcusable, since it was now possible "that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." The Bible closes with a vision of redeemed humanity residing within a city. This is significant, for a city needs more law than does a village or a countryside. Increased populations mean increased regulations. The world moves toward complexity, and the greater the complexity the greater the need

of law and the law-abiding spirit. God means that we shall have more law and better law and greater obedience to law through the teaching and dynamic of "that sweet life which is the law."

The gospel preacher has a unique message for civilization. If the gospel of law which he is commissioned to preach is not proclaimed and practiced, there is little hope for human society. Civilization has always broken down just at the points to which his message applies. Lawlessness has leveled the loftiest civilizations. Whether it has been the enervated lawlessness of the cultured or the vandalism of the crude, the force that has destroyed society has been disobedience to law. Revolution which has overthrown the established order has been wholesome only as it has been obedient to some higher orderliness. The American Declaration of Independence, the charter of the most wholesome revolution of history, reads like a carefully drawn legal indictment. It is a judicial arraignment of a king who had been a perpetual violator of law, and who is now

summoned to trial in the stern arbitrament of war while America commits her case to the judgment of mankind. America was no outlaw preying on orderly civilization. She was a high-minded vigilance committee seeking to restore law and order at the point where constituted authority had broken down. Of course there were many who engaged in the revolution without these high ideals, but the statement that love of law, of righteousness, of ordered liberty was the Christian background of the American founders can easily be supported by historic proof.

The preacher is, then, well within his ministerial rights when he summons the people to law obedience. Not only does he have the unique message, but he has largely an unoccupied field. In the summons of the people to practice genuine obedience to law he is surprisingly a voice "crying in the wilderness." While every department of progressive civilization is dependent for its very life on the spirit and practice of law, it is amazing how few champions of law arise outside the Christian Church. Commerce cannot live if law-

less depredations obtain. The markets, the banks, the very currency of the realm cannot function in lawless areas. If men cannot keep what they lawfully acquire, then acquisition is useless; but without law observance safeguards of property disappear. Yet commerce, though so utterly dependent on law, is not an outstanding champion of law. There are great corporations which banished liquor drinking because it violated all commercial regulations and endangered property, yet some of those very corporations have been found fighting against the constitutional control of the lawless liquor traffic.

Often the most highly paid lawyers of the land are employed by commerce to defend its own law violations or to secure evasions of law without penalization. Indeed, the problem of liquor law enforcement is one before which many commercialists stand appalled because they tell us that there is such vast profit in bootlegging. Commerce seems terrified in the presence of great profits. As Dr. Josiah Strong quoted years ago, "Nothing is so timorous as a million dollars—ex-

cept two millions."[1] The commercial world has no gospel concerning the dangers of wealth such as Jesus taught. When the church teaches these doctrines it is the representatives of the world of business who are most likely to object. While there are noble specimens of heroic Christian manhood who are courageously applying the teachings of Jesus to their business, yet even they, as well as the preacher, find many otherwise excellent business men calling them visionaries and idealists. If this be true of Christian business men, it is no wonder that the commercial world as a whole is not enthusiastic over law enforcement, which often means cutting down individual profits.

When we turn to the professional world we discover a similar dearth of passion for law enforcement. One expects to find lawyers enthusiastic upholders of the law, and in some instances he is not disappointed, but the legal profession as a whole is surprisingly apathetic on this subject. It is

[1] *Our Country*, p. 169. Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., New York.

true that most of the lawmakers are lawyers, and it would be expected that they would be eager to support their own handiwork, but the stubborn fact is that most of the best-paid lawyers in criminal practice are on the side of the lawbreaker. District attorneys and their assistants who prosecute the criminal are usually underpaid men. Unless the criminal lawyer, therefore, is a high idealist and defends his clients solely to see that justice is done, he will very easily match his brains against the prosecutor who represents the state and will do his utmost to deliver his clients from the toils of the law even when he knows that they have violated the statutes. The question of legal ethics at this point has been much debated. There are lawyers who contend that Lincoln's example in refusing to take a case when he felt the client was guilty cannot be followed to-day; that not only is it impracticable, but it is unjust. Every man is entitled to a lawyer, and, it is said, if a lawyer refuse to defend a case where he has strong suspicion of guilt, he is prejudging the case, thus arrogating to himself

the prerogatives of judge and jury rather than assuming those of a trial lawyer. This is plausible, but not sound. It is true that every man is entitled to counsel, and that no man is known to be guilty until the verdict is rendered. That is sound American jurisprudence. Czolgosz, the assassin of William McKinley, was provided by the government with an able lawyer to see that no injustice was done to one who seemed to be manifestly guilty. But that is a very different thing from using every technical loophole and every stratagem of plausibility to deliver an apparently guilty man from the penalty of the law. Moreover, legal authorities wisely stress the rights of the court and insist that they must be respected as well as the rights of the accused. Only recently I talked with an able judge of one of our higher courts who assured me that, in defense of men charged with crime, lawyers came to court who gave no evidence that they had examined carefully their own clients, and thus dishonored the court by assuming to defend men whose guilt would have been apparent if they

had been as eager to uphold the law and promote justice as they had been to secure legal business.

I am bringing no railing accusation against the legal profession as a whole. I highly respect that profession and esteem it next to the Christian ministry, but I am stating a fact which high-minded lawyers and judges admit and deplore. That reverence for law which will make it impossible for a lawyer to counsel law evasion; which will cause him to feel it to be far nobler to lose a case by upholding the law than to gain an acquittal for the guilty, and which will constitute him an enthusiastic champion of honest legislation and impartial administration of American law—such reverence is one of the supreme needs of the great legal profession to-day. Judge Kavanagh, while paying a high tribute to the integrity of many criminal lawyers whom he has known, expresses the conviction that the practice of defending criminals over a long period of years inevitably leads to a lowering of the moral standards. Crime, like a cancer, eats into the

moral vitals of a man, and those whose profession is the defense of criminals easily become infected.

Other professions are likewise apathetic. The medical men, while scrupulous in their obedience to the laws of professional ethics, do not strenuously exert themselves as a whole on behalf of general law enforcement. The nature of their duties makes them sensitive to even complimentary publicity, while frequent emergency calls render imperative the avoidance of professional testimony in court and any kind of leadership in public agitation. If the people are to be brought to a new appreciation of the sanctity of law and of the importance of promoting all worthy movements for better legislation and more efficient law enforcement, the only profession to which they can hopefully look is that of the Christian ministry. Has it not been ever so? The people of Jesus' day were as sheep without a shepherd until he appeared. The task which none other will perform is that of the prophet, because at the last analysis it is the task of Him of whom it is true that

when there was no eye to pity and no arm to save, his eye pitied and his arm brought salvation.

This does not mean that the preacher shall become a private detective or arrogate to himself the functions of a regularly constituted law official. Many such officials are utterly derelict in their discharge of duty and the earnest preacher is often tempted to play the part of a law enforcement officer. This usually results disastrously. Not only does it give the officer an excuse for further neglect, but often leads him to neutralize all the preacher's worthy efforts and bring him into general disrepute. The preacher's task is to co-operate with every officer who has any inclination to fidelity and to arouse public sentiment by intelligent and sane public discussion that neglectful officials shall be spurred to duty or else be removed from office.

The chief task of the preacher, however, in this connection is that of moral stimulation and guidance of the people's thought. Preachers have not always been guiltless of

cheap discount of law and law enforcement. It is no credit to the preacher to be guilty of either moral or technical contempt of court. When a preacher some years since declared that he was held in contempt of court and counted it an honor to have the contempt of such a court, he received some applause from the unthinking, but not the approval of the thoughtful. While some judges are corrupt and some courts worthy of contempt, yet the courts of justice are one of the foundation pillars of Christian orderliness. Thus the set of their sails is the same as that of the church. It was no rhetorical accident in the writing of John Wesley that led him to disparage the practice of "speaking evil of magistrates or of ministers." Individual ministers are frequently as inefficient as individual magistrates, and a church may become as corrupt as a court. It is the ministry as a whole that deserves respect; likewise magistrates and courts. Any wholesale disparagement of the court reflects on the minister and, in the long run, is an attack on his own life-enterprise.

It is often said that the early Christians defied the courts of their day and flew in the face of Roman law. Because of this Christian ministers are thought to have an honorable precedent in their defiance of judicial authority. But the cases are not parallel. The Roman law system was essentially pagan and the sentiment behind it anti-Christian. Our government and law system, as we have seen, are essentially Christian. Apart from this, however, the early Christians displayed a remarkable respect for even pagan authority. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God," was written by Paul to Christians at Rome, who knew full well the pagan cruelty of Roman jurisprudence. The apostle was not giving blanket approval to all the decisions of Roman magistrates, but he was counseling that recognition of constituted authority which anarchy repudiates.

Christianity has nothing in common with anarchy. The men who "turned the world upside down" were not anarchists. "I will

not obey the emperor, but I will pray for him" was the respectful refusal of the early Christian to obey a law which required specific denial of Christ; but this was a refusal which had as its background a cheerful willingness to pay the death penalty for such disobedience and thus in reality to acknowledge the fundamental authority of law. If America had only such conscientious violators of law who were willing to take the penalty for conscience sake, she would have little to fear from the lawless. The preacher must show the people the difference between conscientious objectors who pay the penalty peacefully and defiant criminals. It is the latter who threaten America to-day. The minister must avoid, by word or deed, any classification with them.

The Protestant Church as a whole has been distinguished by an honorable career in this connection. She has been welcomed by the governments of the world whenever her attitude has been truly Christian. Though her missionaries have often lived under legalized conditions which were intolerable, and

though they have been leaders in moral reform, they have not encouraged anarchistic defiance of law. Mexico has furnished a recent illustration. When the law was enacted forbidding non-Mexican ecclesiastics to preside over native assemblies, the Methodist Episcopal bishop waived his right to presidency, sat as a member of the Annual Conference and surrendered the gavel to a Mexican brother. We had the same essential reason to rebel as did the Roman Catholic Church, but we were true to the Protestant principle that the state supersedes the church in temporal authority.

The same was true in France at the beginning of the present century. In the events leading up to the separation of church and state Protestantism suffered certain restrictions as well as Roman Catholicism, but the attitude of the former was entirely different because it had no quarrel with the principle of state supremacy. In this country the theoretical refusal of the Roman Church to recognize civil marriage drives it into the glaring inconsistency of refusal to acknowl-

edge the validity of all Protestant marriages as well as those performed by civil officers. It would not think of declaring all Protestant families adulterous, which it would have to do to be consistent. It thus embarrasses all liberal-minded priests and parishioners. The whole trouble is the refusal to theoretically accept the temporal supremacy of state authority. Protestantism freely accepts and openly champions the supreme authority of state and national law. This means that all of our advocacy of reform must guard against even the appearance of anarchistic defiance. Protestant ministers, therefore, who feel flattered when held in contempt of court or who condone law evasion in the interest of such reforms as birth control, whatever the real merit of these reforms may be, are stultifying themselves in the face of their Protestant profession and indirectly promoting lawlessness. Fortunately, their number is exceedingly small, both actually and comparatively.

CHAPTER VII

THE PREACHER AND NULLIFICATION OF LAW

The teaching function of the preacher is being increasingly accentuated. He must not only inspire and exhort, not merely paint glowing word-pictures of biblical characters and scenes, but he must give instruction, clarify the thinking of his people with lucid interpretations, and impart accurate information concerning religion, morals, and related themes. Religious education will never come to full effectiveness except as the preacher add to his many other duties the task of the religious instructor. In such a capacity he must instruct the people as to the significance of government and the meaning of law. It is gratifying to observe that among the best courses in religious education are included those which deal with matters governmental and legal.

The public mind is greatly confused to-

day on the question of nullification of law. Popular and high-grade writers in reputable magazines are presenting briefs for nullification which are perhaps more plausible and persuasive than any which have appeared since the days of Webster and Hayne. The New York Outlook for June 19, 1929, gives prominence to a treatise by Wainwright Evans entitled "The Sanctity of Law." The Forum for July of the same year presents as its leading article a discussion of the same theme by James Truslow Adams under the caption "Hoover and Law Observance." Both of these articles are inspired by President Hoover's call to the people to support him in the promotion of esteem for law throughout the United States. Both deal with the question of nullification, one directly and the other by inference.

Each article maintains that existing lawlessness is due to the character of the laws enacted. These laws are said to be too numerous and too exacting. Many seemingly punctilious laws are cited. They are so skillfully described as types of legislative imper-

tinence that the reader is led to believe that American law, both as to quality and quantity, is a burden too heavy to be borne. The conclusion reached is that the citizen has come to lose respect for law, not because he does not believe in a well-regulated society nor in the worth of law as such, but simply because he has been irritated and hampered by multitudinous and exasperating legislation.

Let us examine these contentions. We grant that the laws are numerous. It could not be otherwise with a nation which has been legislating for itself for a hundred and fifty years. We are told that in five years Congress and the State Legislatures passed sixty-seven thousand new laws, and that the common law fills twenty-four thousand volumes. But this multiplicity of legal enactments does not necessarily mean popular oppression. Most of these laws are so slight a restriction of our liberty that we obey them without knowing it. The late Josiah Strong quoted a New York lawyer as telling an acquaintance that he, as a good citizen, was

obeying some 21,260 federal laws. The lawyer went on to tell him that he was a still more obedient citizen, for the number quoted did not include the almost innumerable local regulations of the various municipal governments which had the authority of law. Indeed, the very ease with which we bear our legal load becomes a snare and leads us into heedless indifference.

A further word should be said concerning this seemingly excessive legislation. Large numbers of laws are purely local in character. The vast proportion of the people even in a single State are not in the least affected by them. In Pennsylvania, for example, a law is passed changing the name of a small municipality from "The City of Monongahela City" to "The City of Monongahela." That law burdened nobody. Even if a large minority opposed it, they would not be subject to any hardship because of the new law. Not more than nine thousand people out of more than one hundred and fifteen millions would be in the remotest degree affected. This is true of large numbers of laws. Many

of them are, moreover, directed against specific evils in which only a very small number of citizens engage, but the legal correction brings benefit to the entire commonwealth. Here is a law which seems to deal with a very trivial matter. It treats of the kind of material with which bed mattresses shall be filled. Why must a great State trouble itself with such trifles? The reason is that unscrupulous dealers have been known to fill new mattress cases with old and unsanitary material which is a menace to health and life. The only burden falls on a few undesirable citizens who will not desist except at the stern behest of the law, while the benefits are enjoyed, all unconsciously, by millions throughout the land.

A further study of the character of many of our laws shows the complaint to be equally groundless. Mr. Adams cites anti-evolution laws and censorship enactments: but are any of these burdensome to the American people as a whole? The anti-evolution laws trouble nobody, comparatively speaking, and would hardly have been known to exist except for a

test case in an obscure community in the South. The Scopes trial in Tennessee would hardly have caused a ripple on American life had not the newspapers, in a season of journalistic dullness, found it profitable to direct to it the attention of the world. To describe anti-evolution laws as a legal menace to American educational and scientific development is to erect a very small molehill into a towering mountain. The same is true of our censorship laws. The same writer complains that books which are censored in America are freely purchasable in Europe. He cannot, however, convince us that at this point the public is being seriously restricted in its reading. Surely, no one who reads only the titles of the vast number of suggestive books which pollute the bookstands today can reasonably conclude that anything like literary censorship is resting heavily on the American people.

Moreover, Mr. Adams complains that while it is easy to pass a law it is very difficult to secure its repeal. The facts do not warrant this assertion. I have looked through

the large volume containing the text of the laws passed by the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1925, and I discover that among the four hundred and sixteen legal enactments of that year there are one hundred and forty-six which were either of the nature of repeal of former laws or amendment of the same. This is probably a representative cross-section of laws throughout the nation. The people evidently can both repeal and amend laws which they feel should be changed.

Citizens have no reason to nullify their laws because they are burdensome or unchangeable. As a matter of fact, good citizens as a whole are not nullifying their laws nor do they believe in nullification. Much of what is called nullification is nothing of the kind. The Outlook in the issue referred to gives a picture by Ewing Galloway of traffic on Fifth Avenue, New York, moving at the rate of twenty to twenty-five miles an hour when the law limits it to fifteen miles. This is called nullification of law. But it is nothing of the sort. The mistake arises from a misconception of the operation of law. All

law is subject to official interpretation. It is not a mechanical instrument which, if it is not functioning one hundred per cent with technical accuracy, is being nullified. Every law is subject to several interpretations in the ordinary course of legal procedure. It is first interpreted by the enforcement officer. When traffic is passing down Fifth Avenue at twenty miles an hour it is doing so under the keen eye of instructed police officers who represent the efficient traffic authorities of that great city. They interpret the law to mean a relatively slow speed and regard uniform and steady traffic flow at twenty miles as no violation. Let some smart youth attempt to dash by other cars at thirty miles an hour and he will soon discover whether the speed limit law is a nullity. In case of arrest for a serious violation of the speed law that law would be subject to another interpretation by legal counsel on both sides in a court of law. The judge in such a case is an interpreter of law. If it were automatic and mechanical in its application, the judge, and even the jury, would have little to do. The

contention that law is constantly being nullified and that nullification is a wholesome process whereby the people weed out undesirable laws by a process resembling natural selection is based on an utter misconception of the nature of law. We have so much automatic machinery that operates almost as if it were human that our minds become obsessed with automatism. Men speak of law and its enforcement as they would of a thermostat which automatically releases or checks a flow of gas the moment the temperature reaches a certain point. So law is discussed as if it should immediately arrest and punish all offenders the moment it was violated, if it were efficient. But law, however mechanical it may seem, is not a machine. It is a guide to variable human conduct subject to variable human interpretation and application. Human motives, moral character, intellectual capacity, individual and social justice as well as the discoverable principles of eternal right and truth are all involved in its interpretation. It is folly, therefore, to expect it to function like an

automatic machine. It is not mechanical; it is moral.

It is thus unreasonable to declare that nullification of a law exists because under it no arrests happen to be made. The law against dueling, against slavery, against mammoth lotteries is not nullified. The people have been educated up to the standard of these laws, and violations seldom, and in some instances never, occur. It is pernicious propaganda, advanced by the lawless and their apologists, that every person is constantly violating law no matter how law-abiding he desires to be. This is not true. The minor infractions of technical requirements, into which worthy citizens unintentionally and often unconsciously run, are not of the nature of normal law violation, nor is the disregard of such minor infractions by law officers of the nature of nullification. Enemies of the law are always eager to make it appear so mechanically technical that the most law-abiding shall be branded as lawless, and the whole system discredited. It is that disreputable practice which all worthy

legal canons denounce as "straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel."

What, then, is nullification? The question is historically pertinent. It is just about one hundred years since this question was so ably discussed and decided in the councils of the nation. South Carolina sought to nullify federal law. Daniel Webster defended the right of the federal government to make laws which all the States should obey. Robert Y. Hayne defended the contention of South Carolina that a State might refuse obedience and that such nullification of federal law was in harmony with the Constitution. Calhoun counseled peaceful nullification and thought it could be accomplished, but the movement approached the verge of civil war. Apart from the arguments of Webster and the keen analysis of Edward Livingstone, regarded by some as even the superior of Webster in this debate, the complete repudiation of nullification by Southern States, as well as those of the North, stamped it as an utterly un-American doctrine.

Thus was laid the ghost of nullification for

nearly twenty years. A resurrection was attempted during the Fugitive Slave Law agitation of 1850. An analogy has been recently drawn between the opposition to that law and the efforts of anti-prohibitionists to nullify the eighteenth amendment. Miss Ida M. Tarbell, in the leading article in Liberty of July 6, 1929, draws such an analogy, maintaining that in spite of the calls of Lincoln and Webster to law obedience the people would not obey that law. She cites the monumental work of Albert J. Beveridge on Lincoln in another connection, but seems to overlook his very definite statements in this connection which do not accord with her position. Beveridge says that while there was extensive agitation against the Fugitive Slave Law and a slight resort to violence involving the death of one slaveowner, "these incidents were few in number, but each of them was made a striking example of the infamy of the Fugitive Slave Law." He also says that such sensational occurrences "were given wide publicity by the press," but that the law was ultimately triumphant and

nullification defeated. "So the vast majority of the people remained calm, accepted the compromise, sustained the law, remained faithful to the government and devoted to the Union. Among them was Lincoln, who never was in disagreement with general and settled public opinion."[1]

The analogy between the friends of nullification in 1850 and in this day does not give encouragement to the enemies of prohibition. While the nullificationists of that day were friends of reform and to-day are its enemies, yet even those well-meaning antagonists of law did not succeed. The reform they sought did not come by defying the central government and denouncing law in general. It came through increased devotion to that government and the ultimate defeat of nullifying States. Much as we deplore slavery and appreciate the courage and enthusiasm of such men as Garrison, Parker, and Phillips, we cannot regard many of their utterances as other than those of incipient

[1] *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 136, 137, vol. ii, by Albert J. Beveridge. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

anarchy, to say the least. Whatever may be true of a revolution against absolute monarchy, it is certainly not true that people who make their own laws can be justified in acts of disobedience to lawfully enacted statutes. Lincoln was firm as a rock at this point and not only did his views triumph and nullification go down to defeat, but all the foes of slavery, however divergent their views, attained every noble end they sought.

The lesson for anti-prohibitionists from this period is not only that nullification of law is un-American and pernicious no matter in what cause it may be employed, but also that a great social and moral wrong will always cause unrest and upheaval until it is eliminated. Beveridge, speaking of the Fugitive Slave Law, says "the Act was an incident, however, to the 'Great Iniquity.' Slavery must go, no matter what it cost."[2] So may we say to apologists for the liquor traffic: It is the great Iniquity; the agitation, the laws, the enforcement problems are all

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[2] *Abraham Lincoln*, p. 133, vol. ii, by Albert J. Beveridge. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

incident to this "deep damnation." It must go as slavery went, and though its going be attended by clash of opinion, bitter controversy, and national unrest, its final exit will record another moral triumph for the American people, their Constitution and their laws such as was achieved when slavery became extinct.

Nullification of law is studied and premeditated defiance of established legislation. It is this that is the menace to America today, and it is this spirit which lies behind the lawlessness which obtains. Authorities tell us that crime in America is not the result of passion, but of cold-blooded determination to break laws which restrain the criminal. Organizations are formed by shrewd and unprincipled men. They determine on a certain crime. Complete provision is planned. If methods of escape fail, professional bondsmen are provided, lawyers are engaged, the corruptibility of juries and judges is ascertained and the entire criminal intent is linked with the most unscrupulous efficiency to outwit the law which cuts across their diabolical

plans. Those who preach nullification and make heroes out of criminals, while with maudlin sentimentality they call law enforcement officials and law defenders cruel and inhumane, promote antagonism to the government and in war time would be regarded as utterly disloyal and seditious. The Christian minister must take a firm stand here if he shall retain his prophetic rôle. Any suspicion of sympathy with such nullification is enough to discredit utterly his ministry. He must be above suspicion in this matter. The preacher of Christ must ever proclaim the dignity, nobility, magnetism, inviolability, and magnificence of law with such eloquence of speech and life that, within the range of his influence at least, law shall increasingly become "a terror to evildoers and a praise to such as do well."

"Stern daughter of the Voice of God!
O Duty! . . .
Stern lawgiver! yet thou dost wear
The Godhead's most benignant grace;
Nor know we anything so fair
As is the smile upon thy face;

Flowers laugh before thee on their beds;
And fragrance in thy footing treads;
Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong;
And the most ancient heavens, through thee,
are fresh and strong."

—*William Wordsworth.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE PREACHER AND PUBLICITY

THE preacher of the gospel is a public character. The moment he commits himself to the ministerial career he ceases to be a private individual. While of the race it may be said, "None of us liveth to himself, and none dieth to himself" it is more distinctively true of the Christian ministry than of any other profession. The physician is a decided individualist. He belongs pre-eminently to a group small enough to enable each member of it to receive his personal attention. When as a writer or a distinguished scientist he receives world renown he is proving the exception to his professional rule. The same is true of the lawyer. He deals personally with clients whose cases he can scrutinize to the smallest detail. When he becomes a judge or a legislator, and thus enters public life, he is commencing a career not necessarily in-

volved in the legal profession. Even if politics be regarded as a profession, the average politician, apart from an election or two, is not in the public eye to the same extent as the average minister. In an election the names of political candidates known to all the voters are comparatively few.

The preacher, on the other hand, embarks upon a career of publicity when he first enters the pulpit. Thenceforward he belongs to all the people. He has not only a private practice and a private clientele as the physician and the lawyer, but beyond his group of parishioners he must minister to the community as a whole. His personal habits, his private character, his family life, his methods of work are all public property. Any moral delinquency on his part damages the whole community and receives the widest publicity. His message from the humblest pulpit is for all mankind. Every moral movement of his neighborhood claims his leadership. If he is not willing to live under the eye of "pitiless publicity," he has missed his calling. If, on the one hand, he is irritated by constant criti-

cism, and unreasonable public demand, or, on the other, is indifferent to public opinion, he is disqualified for the ministry. The spirit of the recluse must die if the prophet is born. John Wesley became truly prophetic when on his way back to his "beloved obscurity" in Oxford he was arrested by the call of the world.

To the minister, then, every agency of publicity becomes a subject of profound concern. That which molds public sentiment and influences the popular mind is either his rival or his colleague. In no spirit of petty jealousy should he study the sentiment-creating agencies of his city. Many a minister makes himself ridiculous by scolding the publishers of the Sunday newspaper simply because some people prefer it to his sermons. The Sunday theater is often opposed solely as a rival of the evening church service. The question is much broader than this. What kind of sentiment are public institutions other than the church creating? This is vital.

The daily newspaper is a most potent influence in molding the thinking of men. The

extent to which the "newspaper mind" prevails to-day is appalling. The aggregate daily circulation of American newspapers is about 36,000,000. Estimating two readers for each issue we have 72,000,000 people in the United States reading at least one newspaper each day. Of course many read more than one paper a day and some do not read at all, but the fact that this circulation continues evidences a vast reading public. Computed in terms of families we are told it means one and one third newspapers for each family in the United States. Here is an influence that exceeds in constancy of appeal anything else in the land. The public school influences helpfully millions of children and youth five days in the week for ten months. The Sunday schools and churches reach a large proportion of these and millions of adults besides. The religious agencies have no such compulsory feature as that of the public school, and the period of impact is very much shorter. The newspaper, however, is a daily influence reaching all ages throughout the entire year, week-days and

Sundays alike. Every intelligent person must read the newspaper. Its pages are scanned by all classes, from the philosopher to the feeble-minded. Multitudes read nothing else. The newspaper is the textbook and the journalistic staff the faculty which holds morning and evening classes for the commuter and the street-car population. This cannot fail to produce the "newspaper mind." It would be interesting to follow the outworkings of this type of mind in American life and thought.

The newspapers claim that they do not create public sentiment, but simply reflect it. They, of course, reflect sentiment, but they do much more than that. They create the type of mind they desire and then reflect their own creation. Multitudes of people are entirely unaware that they are thinking newspaper-wise. One of the most striking illustrations of this was the publicity given the remarkable flight of Charles A. Lindbergh from America to Europe. He was a fine type of American young manhood. The publicity would have spoiled a weaker

man. His calm bravery, his manifest skill, his modest acknowledgment of the universal ovation accorded him stamped him as a specimen of American youth of which this country can well be proud.

The American people like to think that they went into ecstasies over the intrepid aviator simply because of their own appreciation of his achievement, but the fact is that the newspapers created a "Lindbergh mind." Silas Bent in *Ballyhoo,* a remarkable book by an experienced newspaper man who writes with utter frankness yet genuine friendliness toward modern journalism, tells us that the newspapers had created an artificial interest in the public mind before Lindbergh began his flight. He has assembled some striking data from the newspapers of those days. When Lindbergh started on his flight the New York Times used three streamers eight columns wide on the front page. Included in this was a full photographic page. In addition there were thirty-seven columns of space describing the event. When the hero returned one paper gave one hundred columns

of publicity. The total from six New York newspapers was eighty-one pages, and it was estimated that in four days there had been printed twenty-seven thousand columns of matter concerning the flyer. This would make four volumes of the size used by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Mr. Bent tells us that this was two hundred and twenty thousand more stories than were printed concerning Woodrow Wilson at his death, and almost twice as much matter as was used to describe the close of the World War.[1]

Here was a vast creation of public sentiment. The press, without doubt, was not merely reflecting, it was making the public mind. Fortunately, the subject matter was exceedingly wholesome. A few weeks previously the newspaper reports of murder trials had filled the public mind with thoughts of lust and violence. But with full appreciation of Lindbergh and his achievement, it was surely an unbalanced mentality which the newspapers created.

[1] *Ballyhoo,* pp. 28 and 36, by Silas Bent. Horace Liveright, publisher, New York.

Now, with such publicity and the agencies which promote it, the preacher must be deeply concerned. The press is dealing with the same public mind which he is commissioned to influence with the gospel. He speaks to the newspaper-made mind every time he delivers a public address. Not only do people meet him with the words "I saw it in the paper," but they hold up to him each Sunday a mentality which they think is their own but which, all unconsciously, has been created for them by shrewd journalists whose chief concern has been to promote a commercial enterprise.

What, then, must the preacher do with this "newspaper mind" which greets him on every occasion? He must at least address it intelligently. To speak to men and women who have just emerged from absorption in fourteen editions of the press and disregard that absorption is, certainly, to preach ineffectively. The true preacher takes the mind of the congregation where he finds it and, interpreting that mind to itself, lifts it to gospel levels. Jesus, the Master

Preacher, certainly did this. There were no newspapers in his day, but the conversation of the bargaining commercialists in the market place and the comparison of views concerning domestic matters by women at the village well were sentiment-creating agencies of his time.

"He spake of lilies, corn and vines,
The sparrow and the raven,
And words so simple yet so wise
Were on men's hearts engraven.
And yeast and bread and flax and cloth
And fish and eggs and candles—
See how the whole familiar world
He most divinely handles!"

Thus was it that the common people heard him gladly. He thought their thoughts through for them and lifted their thinking to heights sublime.

The preacher may not need to give more time to newspaper reading. He may need to give less. Many preachers who are omnivorous readers of newspapers are simply indulging themselves in light reading. Indeed, such preachers generally fail to

speak effectively to the newspaper mind. They are suffering from that type of mind themselves. They fail to see anything in the newspaper except an agency which gives them news attractively detailed and illustrated. They are unaware that their own outlook upon life is being unconsciously molded by the journalistic impact. A newspaper official greatly enamored of modern journalism told me with evident approval that what the newspaper sought supremely was circulation, and it had been found after considerable investigation that to gain circulation it must appeal to the thirteen-year-old mind! Perhaps we as preachers fail to realize the extent to which newspaper perusal is indirectly producing pulpit puerility! A distinguished church leader, one of the keenest thinkers in the ministry, said not long since that while he knew from personal observation and travel in all parts of the country that conditions were infinitely better since prohibition, yet so subtle was the influence of anti-prohibition journalism that he found himself drifting toward the idea that prohibi-

tion was a failure. If the press can so affect a profound scholar who knows better, what wonder is it that lesser minds are complete creations of its influence?

The preacher, therefore, must not only read the newspapers, but he must study them to ascertain the current of thought which lies beneath. This calls for profound study. He must boldly expose and correct from his pulpit the fallacies which pervade the newspaper mind. This is also the function of the religious press, which, for the most part, does its work admirably; but the mass of the people do not read religious papers. The preacher, therefore, must continually set the gospel viewpoint over against that of journalism in general. Here is the real cleavage between the church and the world. Newspapers as a whole, with distinguished exceptions, do not pretend to promote either morals or religion. They publish news as it relates to both and occasionally give space to the expressed opinions of their readers on these subjects, but direct moral and religious objectives they avoid. They assume an air

of high-minded neutrality which lifts them above ethical and religious controversy. One chain of newspapers with a national circulation publishes regularly a rather lengthy quotation from the Bible while it fills its other columns largely with extensive catering to the world, the flesh, and the devil. We are grateful that so much of biblical truth receives wide circulation, but we must not forget that we are preaching to congregations who have absorbed that type of assumed neutrality and whose resistance is thereby strengthened to our pulpit pleas for moral passion.

CHAPTER IX

THE PREACHER AND JOURNALISTIC RESPONSIBILITY

THAT modern journalism is a marvel of mechanical and commercial achievement every intelligent person must admit. The contrast between the newspapers of seventy-five years ago and those of to-day is so great as to make modern journalism a new institution. Commercially the contrast is striking. We are told that Horace Greeley founded the New York Tribune with $1,000, James Gordon Bennett the Herald with $500, and that two boys with scarcely any money at all started the San Francisco Chronicle. To-day one million dollars is the very smallest amount of capital with which to establish a newspaper. The very news print which we regard as the cheapest of paper material has risen in price from $35 a ton to $135. In 1923 the American newspapers took wood from 275,000 acres of land in order to get

enough pulp from which to make paper. In 1919 the newspapers of the country received $400,000,000 from advertisers, in 1923, $600,000,000, and in 1926, $750,000,000; yet this we are informed is only two thirds the cost of running the papers. The sales and combinations of newspapers are the manipulations of multimillionaires. We read of one financier controlling the sale of six great metropolitan dailies in a nine-million-dollar transaction. Nothing like this has been known before. The man of journalistic instinct who liked to gather news and make editorial comment on the activities of his community and started a newspaper because of the lure of the editorial chair, making incidentally a precarious living—this man has gone never to return. Journalism to-day is as truly a commercial enterprise as the department store, the banking institution, or the stock exchange.

The commercialization of journalism has given us the chain newspaper. It reduces competition and saves overhead expense. There are now fifty-five such newspaper

chains in the United States controlling two hundred and twenty-eight papers. These have a combined daily circulation of thirteen million copies. The circulation of the chain paper is increasing. A few years ago it rose from thirty to thirty-six per cent of the total newspaper circulation of the country. The Scripps-Howard chain alone circulates two million copies a day. The Hearst papers have a much larger circulation. Through his newspapers and magazines Mr. Hearst is reputed to be the largest publisher in the United States.

The mechanical achievements of journalism make it a wizardlike institution. Its ubiquitous reporters gather practically every news item the whole world round. The speed with which the news passes from reporter's pencil to the reader's eye; the remarkable degree of accuracy in spite of the amazing speed; the correctness of spelling, the lucidity of style, the extent of vocabulary and the range of subjects treated make the newspaper to-day almost as much of an authority on all matters as the encyclopædia or

dictionary of a century ago. *The World Almanac,* a journalistic enterprise, is really an abridged encyclopædia. One of the recent newspaper ventures is a proposition to cable the entire London Times, pictures and all, and publish it simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic. While the manuscript of this book is being written there comes the story of another mechanical triumph of journalism. News is telephoned to London, England, from a correspondent riding in an aeroplane high over the State of New Jersey. Every mechanical advance of the race is eagerly utilized by journalistic genius.

If we could stop here in our study of modern journalism, it would be very gratifying both to ourselves and our many journalistic friends. We must, however, go on. Enterprise, ingenuity, dazzling achievements, and commercial success are not enough. The moral influence of this ponderous institution must be considered. It is here that we have to tell another story. We closed the last chapter with the statement that newspapers as a whole do not profess any moral mission.

They feel that having done so well as news-gathering agencies their responsibility to the public is at an end. But no institution of such colossal proportions can justly escape summons before the bar of moral responsibility. Just as the stock exchanges, the banks, the giant corporations of every sort are held accountable, so must the newspapers. Beyond this, however, journalism must be held to account more strictly than other commercial enterprises because it makes its wealth directly through public sentiment, as others do not. It traffics in the thought of the times. It preaches to its vast audience of readers as truly as does the Christian minister. If we hold him to account for his beliefs, his moral influence, and his conduct there is at least equal reason for summoning the journalists to the bar. The public-school teacher is subject to severe intellectual and moral tests. Why not this mammoth teacher who instructs everybody, from the child pouring over the funny pictures to the supreme court judge reading his news of judicial decisions?

The department store can touch millions without creating any sentiment whatever on prohibition, the tariff, crime waves, obedience to law, moral standards or religion, but journalism cannot live without dealing most pertinently with all these matters. It makes public sentiment on these subjects with every edition. The newspaper mind, previously described, is the product of journalistic teaching on these moral matters as well as on others. Does anyone suppose that New York City, for example, would have the anti-prohibition attitude it has if the newspapers did not disseminate that sentiment as they do? If one so thinks, newspapers would themselves correct his opinion, for they boast their power to turn the tide of events and alter the current of human thought. They boastfully took the credit of creating the "Lindbergh mind," but they also create a public mind on more weighty matters. That they can create a war sentiment through the country is generally accepted. Some of them have even been charged with projecting the Spanish-American war. They can also

create, if they will, a tremendous peace sentiment. This ability to create a public mind makes them morally liable. When President Hoover, a few months after his inauguration, appealed to them to aid him in promoting law-enforcement sentiment, their response was most disappointing. One publisher of an extensive chain of papers sent a full-page objection to the President's course to readers whom he estimated would aggregate forty million. He had it equally in his power to support the President. His failure to do so justifies his arraignment before the bar of moral responsibility.

To this indictment modern journalism, of course, enters a decided demurrer. Even where journalists grant the facts they plead the cosmopolitan character of their readers. They say that the newspaper is like a department store: each department is dissimilar from the other, and the customer is invited to buy in any department he may choose. Thus the reader is expected to read that in which he is interested and ignore the rest. This will not do, for, as we have seen, the de-

partment store does not deal with the sentiments of the people on the great issues of life. One may think what he chooses on moral issues and political policies and the department store will have nothing to say to him on these subjects, but the newspaper is selling its ideas on all of these questions together with its news. You cannot have one without the other. It is idle to say that news comes to us to-day morally colorless. Even the reporter colors it with his personality and reflects the policy of the paper. Then come the headlines. Vast multitudes of people read little else. Often the body of the news, if carefully read, will change entirely the impression received from the headlines.

Illustrations of headline coloring of news can be multiplied. When the Supreme Court decided by majority opinion, in a monster millionaire bootlegging case, that wire tapping did not invalidate evidence or invade individual rights, newspapers that boast of their high moral influence headlined the minority opinion, relegating to an inferior place or ignoring the strong denunciation of

the criminal practice included in the majority opinion written by the chief justice. When the government reported the number of fatalities which had occurred in nine years in the enforcement of prohibition, that total number was played up in the headlines. The stretch of years it covered, the exceedingly small number of deaths in view of the size of the population, the extensiveness of the enterprise and the desperate character of the criminals encountered were given an inferior place. The so-called "prohibition killings" were headlined by the liquor press as if the government were engaged in a wholesale slaughter of the innocents, and doubtless multitudes of citizens believe this to be the case. President Hoover's appeal to citizens on the American border to co-operate with the government in stamping out the villainy of international crime was relegated to obscurity while his expression of regret that any lives were taken was headlined as if no summons to American loyalty had been made. It is vain to excuse this as journalists do on the ground that headlines accentuate the excep-

tional. The President's appeal for better Americanism is as exceptional as his expressed regret at fatalities. The only adequate explanation is that both news items and headlines are colored by the policy of the paper.

Passing from news to editorials, the bias of the paper is still more distinctly marked. It is true that modern journalism does not take the strong partisan position in politics which marked nineteenth-century newspapers. Its editorials are less profound and academic than in the days of Greeley and Dana, but it does have a policy and that policy affects most seriously the morals of the nation. Most of the great metropolitan dailies cater to the sporting and theatrical circles. They seem loath to take any advanced grounds on any moral issue. That this is not due to any eagerness for neutrality is evidenced by their general espousal of near-paganism and their united antagonism toward practically every moral reform for which the Christian Church stands. Even if they were strictly neutral, we would have reason to complain, for such

extensive creators of public sentiment have no right to stand aloof in non-moral neutrality.

Their defense of this course is that they must give the people what they want. This is a denial of their educational function. That they are public educators they themselves often declare. Being an educative influence they have no right to deny that function, as they practically do, when they declare that they must cater to popular taste. With all the modern emphasis on the elective method schools could not educate if they yielded to the unscholastic clamor of the untrained mind. The newspapers must abandon their claim as public educators or else cease to apologize for moral neutrality.

It is not true by any means that all journalists are morally indifferent. There are noble exceptions to the rule. The classic illustration, of course, is the exposure of the Tweed ring and Tammany Hall by the New York Times back in the seventies. The Times of 1928, however, vastly more prosperous and popular, did not show the same

crusading spirit against Tammany, to say the least. The St. Louis Post Dispatch is credited with having been responsible for the exposure and retirement of George Washington English, a federal judge in the eastern district of Illinois. Likewise the Scranton Times and the Canton Daily News have fine records of courageous opposition to deeply intrenched iniquity. The editor of the Canton paper, Don Mallett, was assassinated during his campaign against vice in that Ohio city. The Scripps-Howard chain papers, in spite of their intense opposition to the Volstead Act, have often fought on the side of moral reform. The American newspapers as a whole, however, show a rather distinct cleavage at the point of metropolitan life. The great newspapers of the large cities do not as a whole support moral movements. In the small cities journalism seems to realize more fully its moral responsibility. The metropolitan dailies circulate widely through the smaller communities and exert a preponderating influence on the sentiment of the country. This accentuates their moral

responsibility, which they are so slow to recognize.

One other aspect. Moral responsibility is seen at the point of journalistic consolidation. The tendency everywhere is toward fewer papers of larger circulation each. The chain newspaper is a conspicuous illustration. A few minds control the journalistic output for millions of people. It is true that chains such as the Scripps-Howard group give editorial freedom to local editors and only send down editorials on national and international issues. Even in the publication of these editorials they permit some local autonomy. The local editor determines the policy of the paper on immediate issues and must take the consequences. We must not, however, take this too seriously. It is not quite reasonable to believe that a local editor could champion a policy for his city at variance with the general policy of chain owners and escape rebuke. Most local reform movements attack, directly or indirectly, the liquor traffic. What freedom would an editor have in supporting those local reforms when the general

policy of his employers was antagonistic? The number of newspapers in the United States is decreasing while the circulation increases. This means that fewer men are molding more minds. The consequent mental uniformity does not make for increased intelligence nor moral independence.

The concentration of such power in the hands of a few ought to challenge the preacher to constant study of journalistic influence upon his people and his community and to such close contacts with his own local editors and publishers that he can persuade them to share with him a keen sense of responsibility for the mentality and morals of the people.

CHAPTER X

THE PREACHER'S ULTIMATE MESSAGE

It may seem to some that, in the foregoing discussion, the preacher's real message has been overlooked. If he shall be a stern crusader against evils in public life, if he speak from the sacred desk on moral aspects of highly controverted political issues, will he not fail to preach those great truths concerning brotherhood, human sympathy, the essential unity of the race and that all-inclusive love of the Divine Father, manifest in the Divine Son and made dynamic in the hearts of men through the influence of the Divine Spirit?

We have already intimated that there need be no inconsistency here; that prophetic preaching on public issues is not only harmonious with spiritual edification and evangelism, but a logical outcome of the same. We desire, however, to go further and show

that without the unique fundamentals of the Christian faith one cannot adequately relate himself to public affairs.

What is the ultimate Christian faith which the preacher must proclaim? It is confidence in a trustworthy God and a reliable universe based on spiritual reality. Personal faith in Jesus Christ and experimental fellowship with him beget such faith. Pagan religions do not produce this type. There is a sense in which "this believing world" does not believe at all. It believes in multiplied superstitions and trusts the efficacy of religious ceremonials, but a genuine faith in a Divine Being who is morally trustworthy and infinitely kind is sadly lacking. Faith is often thought to be necessary to religion. Men say, "I cannot believe sufficiently to be religious." Just the reverse of this is really true. Man is naturally religious and all men have some religious life; but natural religion does not produce faith in a trustworthy God of infinite love. The real trouble, then, is that men do not have enough of the Christian religion to produce in them the highest faith.

Pagan peoples are notorious for their lack of faith. Their deities are crafty and nondependable. In the nature of the case they cannot be said to trust a being whom they regard as untrustworthy.

Perverted forms of Christianity produce the same effect. It is well known that the next step from paganized Christianity is infidelity. Earnest men and women who have been taught to blindly accept the authority of an institution on all religious matters and who have been instructed in a contempt for every creed but their own, suffer a terrible despair when they discover the religion of their childhood to have been a delusion. They have nowhere else to go. Their creed has not placed their feet on a firm foundation of religious confidence which can survive outgrown creeds. The test of a true religion may be said to be the extent to which it leads its votaries to a firm confidence in spiritual realities and a personal God behind all things who is Infinite Love.

Such a confidence tremendously affects human relationships. If Infinite Love is be-

hind all life, then the divine government is promoted by good will and has for its objective the highest good of man. If this be so, human governments must be a copy of the divine. This is what Jesus taught us to pray that they should be: "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, in earth, as it is in heaven." This is the task of a loving God who asks us to co-operate with him in the fulfillment of the ancient prophecy, "He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he shall have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law."

Now, this conception of a trustworthy God of infinite love whose purpose to make spiritual values pre-eminent in all human relations is behind every reform movement of the Christian Church. Eliminate it and you have cut the nerve of moral reform. The idealism, the holy passion, the self-sacrificial spirit necessary for the correction of wrongs in public life are all rooted here. The defiance of wrong, however impregnably intrenched, is here. All through the years, from the cry of the stripling David, "The

battle is the Lord's," down to the poetic challenge of Isaac Watts,

> "No more let sin and sorrow grow,
> Nor thorns infest the ground,"

and the more prosaic slogan of the men of a modern city who declared, "In the name of Jesus Christ the liquor traffic must go," moral reform has rooted itself in the essentials of biblical faith.

Not only so; it is also true that the Christian doctrine of love as the only basis of human relationship is absolutely essential to genuine reform. Movements for moral and political betterment are often charged with the generation of bitterness and severity of spirit utterly opposed to the kindliness of the Master. Two things should be said here. One is that Christian reform should free itself from all forms of lawless violence and from such personal attacks on opponents as are rightly described as "character assassination." The acrimonious discussion and violent speech which have been all too common among otherwise good people should be

utterly eschewed by the preacher and discouraged among his people. Of course, this type of speech is just as often found in churches which have no prophetic message as in those that have. Backbiting and slander are in no wise peculiar to the prophets of righteousness and their followers. Furthermore, where discussion of public questions brings dissension into the church it simply reveals the spiritual destitution which previously obtained. However, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that "all malice and all guile and hypocrisies, and envies and all evil speakings" should be laid aside both by preacher and people in the promotion of moral reform. Where this has not been done the chariot wheels of progress have been badly clogged. Nothing pleases the enemies of reform more than to find its friends fighting with each other or using methods which are clearly in contravention of the Christian spirit. The recent revival of interest in Carrie Nation's violent career is not helpful and preachers should not let their sympathy with Mrs. Nation's abhorrence of the saloon

lead them into any laudation of her inexcusable violence. The Master's words to the impetuous disciples when they proposed physical assault on his enemies, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," echo across the centuries and bid us pause.

On the other hand, however, we must not be carried away by the sentimentalism which veneers cowardliness in speech and action. As soon as the prophet speaks strong words against wrongdoing in public life and cuts across the path of prominent offenders he will receive many exhortations to copy the loving and the lowly Christ. He will be informed that prominent politicians are "good to the poor" and show a more Christlike kindliness than does he. He must not be swerved by such vapid emotionalism, whether it emanate from hypocrites or from those who, though sincere, have drowned their brains in the volume of their tears. The need is that he shall lead these people not only to see that Jesus was the Lion of the tribe of Judah as well as the Lamb of God, but also that nothing is so cruel as political corrup-

tion that perpetuates itself through deeds of kindness and words of tender sympathy. Every corrupt ring in political history has blinded the people by its deeds of kindness and its mellow speech. It has been kind to those whom it could use for its own nefarious ends and, like Absalom of old, has stolen the hearts of the people only to make them its victimized dupes. Men have not yet learned that there is nothing kind in moral wrong. Sin is utterly heartless. Like the crocodile, it weeps while it devours its victim. Any system that is not essentially honest is essentially cruel. The injunction to love our enemies does not enjoin any toleration of moral wrong though its speech be fair and its service flattering. Without the remotest personal enmity toward hypocrites the preacher must unmercifully lay bare all hypocrisy. He must give his people such glowing visions of the eternal rectitude of God that they will not be carried away by the plausible pretentions of fawning politicians.

Avoiding, then, the way of the violent and

the lure of the hypocrite, the preacher must see clearly and persuade his people that nothing but the spirit of Christian love can be effective in wholesome reform. Love has been too largely associated with a mild passiveness in the presence of towering wrong. The pagan view was that love was weakness. He alone was strong whose heart was full of hatred. Here is another survival of militarism. It was a new doctrine which Jesus gave the world when he taught that love was the mightiest force in the universe. The world has been learning since his day the nature of power. It has been coming to realize that the silent forces are the most potential. Noise is not a necessary accompaniment of puissance. This leads directly to a recognition of the strength of spirituality. The seeming ephemeral is now seen to be the eternal. "The things which are not seen are eternal."

Even in the physical world flexibility is seen to be stronger than rigidity. The sway of a skyscraper makes it more enduring than if it were immovable. To place the monster

telescope on a sure foundation they do not attach it to the virgin rock-bed, but place it first on a layer of sand. It is thus steadier for it escapes the vibration of the earth. Even the sway of the stars is suggestive of strength. The pagans pictured Atlas with great strain and sweat struggling to uphold the earth. They wanted to picture sufficient strength to hold it firm. Job gives a better view. God hangeth the earth upon nothing. God is no straining Atlas struggling to keep one world from swaying. He is almighty and projects invisible forces of infinite strength that hold the worlds secure while yet they move. Someone has likened it to the security of a mother's arms. She holds her babe securely while she rocks him to and fro. He is less likely to fall while in her swaying arms than if laid on rigid supports of steel. The power behind her arms is love which steel can never know. So back of the titanic forces of nature is the heart of Divine Love, infinitely flexible yet infinitely strong.

It is this power of love which is to ultimately overthrow the evil of the world. It is

no sickly sentimentality. It is no mere emotionalism. It is moral potency such as holds the universe in poise. When fully developed in the hearts of men it is utterly irresistible. The forces of iniquity well know that they have nothing that can withstand it. Their only hope is to divert men from the development of this power of love and to dissuade them from applying it to the correction of public wrongs.

Furthermore, love is essential to the work of a prophetic preacher and his church because it operates as a divine lubricant amid the friction which reforms inevitably generate. In common with all progressive movements correction of public evils promotes clash of opinion. This clash is inevitable as the world moves on and the Kingdom comes. Those who expect the world to grow better without mental and emotional upheaval will be sadly disillusioned if they live long enough and are not blind. We are not moving toward the simple life, but toward one increasingly complex; not only in the world of law, as we have seen, but

in the world of thought and feeling which lies behind all law. Millions of men and women who are not thinking to-day will be mentally alert to-morrow. Our advancing education and intelligence will produce more thought, multiplied opinions and consequent conflict of ideas. The very disappearance of war will give place to greater polemic strife. The art of disputation, crushed like other arts beneath the iron heel of Mars, will revive increasingly. People who "never argue" and who abhor discussion should take warning, for toward that very thing the world is tending.

What does it mean? If with this increasing mental clash there shall not come a great increase of love, then bitterness will become so prevalent that it will call again for violence, and war in all its horror will return. The only cure is the application to modern life of the great lubricant of love. It may seem belittling to call love a lubricant; but this is only because we do not realize how utterly the world depends on lubrication. Our modern machine age would not exist if

we were lacking here. The twenty-four million automobiles moving over America today would stop instantly if lubrication were lost. We are told that if mineral oil had not been discovered about the time we were starting on our mechanical career, the whole process would have failed and our marvelous inventions would have been useless. Animal oil could not be obtained in sufficient quantities, and even if it could, it was not sufficiently heat-resisting to meet mechanical friction. Oil keeps friction down and permits the machine to run. Hence lubricants are essential to machines.

Likewise, morally and spiritually, there must be a lubricant to meet the mental and moral friction caused by advancing democracy. Love is that lubricant. Enough of it will enable us to discuss many questions which have been laid aside because their consideration involved too much friction. The old taboo on "politics and religion" as subjects of discussion in passive organizations that were afraid of quarrelsomeness will be removed. Friendliness of a deeper sort will

come and all problems be subjected to exacting scrutiny.

All this is assumed when the preacher begins to discuss moral aspects of public life. That assumption is not always warranted. He cannot proceed very far unless the assumption become a reality. Hence he must preach and promote the deepest spirituality among his people if he would be prophetic. The two are complementary and each promotes the other. Thus we close as we began. The prophetic preacher who deals with public issues is not a reformer nor a politician nor a mere lecturer on economics, but a warm-hearted and intelligent preacher of the full gospel of Jesus Christ, carrying the Master's message of redemption, not only to all the world, but to all realms of human thought and activity within that world, believing firmly that the kingdoms of this world shall "become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and ever."

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